

URBAN MIDDLE CLASSES IN MUGHAL INDIA

THESIS

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Abstract

The concept of middle class emerged in the fourteenth Century England with the rise of a trading community which monopolized certain spheres of trade and gradually organized itself into associations and groups. This urban based class represented the antithesis of the old regime which was based upon fief and personal service. The new class going by the name "middle classes" comprised not only merchants, but also professional persons (lawyers, physicians, printers, Master-artisans, etc.) who as individuals appeared to be independent of the feudal nobility. The social and political vacuum created by feudal decline was being steadily filled by the rising middle class and the monarchy which was the initial support behind its development. It was only with the advent of machine and growth of Industries that the Middle Classes could create a new social order, incorporating the rising Industrial entrepreneurs.

One of the peculiar features of the Middle Classes in Europe was that as a class it was independent of the State control: though as individuals, its members were quite often in the pay of either a noble or the state itself. The basic element which distinguished these members of the Middle Class was their professionalism.

Bureaucracy began to develop in West Europe as the growth of royal power accompanied the disintegration of feudalism. The rise of this bureaucracy synchronised with the rise of Middle Classes.

It was from this class that the European bureaucracy came to be increasingly recruited. The existence of a middle class has been denied in Mughal India by a number of modern scholars basing on a comment of François Bernier, a French traveller who came to India during the 17th Century. Bernier in his famous comment

claimed that there is no middle state in Delhi (India). It is not certain if Bernier was accurately reporting when he spoke about the non-existence of the 'middle class'. Secondly we should be further cautious as Bernier is referring to "middle state" or stratum and not talking of the middle class.

Moreland accepted the view of Bernier and denied the presence of this 'class' in the Mughal Empire. The only exception he made was regarding the 'mercantile class' whose existence he accepted; he also admitted the existence of 'something like a middle class' in Bengal. There were at this time no lawyers, very few if any professional teachers, no journalists or politicians, no engineers, no forms of employment corresponding to the modern railway, postal or irrigation services, or to factories and large workshops, few landholders in the modern sense, and, unless I am mistaken, scarcely any families living upon accumulated property; and if we remove these elements from the middle classes as they exist to-day, we shall find that there is very little left, beyond the families dependent on the various public offices.

It was Wilfred Cantwell Smith who raised the issue of middle class in Mughal Empire in one of his early articles. Middle classes, he said, were intricable to the Mughal Empire. He hypothesised that the rise and florescence of the Mughal Empire as a political, economic and cultural process was connected with the florescence from early 16th Century of a prosperous merchant middle class. Smith reasoned that the large size of the Empire greatly helped in the growth of this class, as it facilitated unhindered long distance trade by the merchants. Secondly, he argued that the *mansabdāri* system virtually meant an abolition of a purely landed upper class and its transformation into a class of 'salaried government officials'. Smith also drew the attention to the second regulation of the 'Twelve Ordinances' proclaimed in 1605 when Jahangir ascended the throne, which is a pointer to the importance to the

importance of the mercantile and middle classes in the Mughal Empire. Further, Smith held that the systematization of the currency all over the Empire was an indicator to the growth of this middle class. All this and much more, says Smith, points towards a growing money-economy and the conversion of land revenue into cash, which in turn would lead to a cash nexus benefiting and promoting the middle classes as such. To W.C. Smith, thus, the prosperity and importance of the middle class in the Mughal Empire was no mere speculation.

Moreland, Chicherov, Pavlov and Satish Chandra have supported the general thesis of Smith. Irfan Habib also suggests a 'rural-monetisation' which created surplus agricultural produce which aided urban growth.

Tapan Raychaudhuri however appears to believe that there existed, what he says, a 'sizeable middle-income group' in Mughal India. He does not talk of a middle class or middle classes in the Mughal Empire.

This dissertation attempts to delve into the question of the existence of an urban professional 'middle classes' in Mughal India. Like Khan and Namboodiripad, the working definition employed is 'a class between the two antagonistic classes'.

Dealing with a period when industries were yet far in time we however get references to distinct 'groups' in the Mughal society who were generally urban based and drawing their livelihood by selling their 'skills'. A study of the administrative structure of the Mughal Empire and the *mansabdari* system suggests a kind of bureaucratic apparatus whose roots did not lie in local customary control over land.

In the first chapter, thus, have been dealt not only the nature of the Mughal state but also the relationship of this lower bureaucracy with the state. The second chapter deals with a theme on which much has been written: the merchants are the only facet of the 'urban middle class' whose existence, as we have seen, has been

acceded to, by Moreland, Smith and others. Even modern scholarship like Ashin Dasgupta, M.N.Pearson, Irfan Habib and others have also contributed much to the debate. Mine is thus a very cursory contribution to the issue.

The third chapter delves into the question of the learned professions, like the scholars, philosophers, scientists and teachers as well as the professionals like the lawyers and judges whose existence in Mughal Empire had been denied by Moreland. Akbar himself tried to include rational sciences like arithmetic, agriculture, household management, rules of governance, medicine, etc., in the educational curriculum. Administration of Justice during the period under study has attracted much attention of the Modern scholars. But they have mainly studied the judicial set-up and the criminal law of the Mughal state. The question of Civil Law, as practiced, as well as the practitioners of this law has not received its proper due. This forms the theme of a section of the third chapter.

The fourth chapter attempts to analyse the role of the physicians and surgeons as professionals and assess their position in the Mughal society as well as their relations with the imperial ruling class. The chapter starts with a discussion on the existence of 'medical colleges', that is schools imparting medical education, the type of medical training and education imparted to the physicians, their recruitment, salaries and wages as well as types of 'service' available to them to practice. The chapter also deals with the type of intellectual contributions made by the members of this medical profession.

The fifth chapter deals with the architects and engineers. It is quite interesting to note that although much is written on the construction of the buildings, the construction material as well as the rules of building construction but surprisingly very few architects and engineers have been named by our Mughal sources. There is

no question about information on their social status or position. However we try to deal with whatever information we have on this profession.

The next chapter deals with such professionals as painters, artists and musicians. Unfortunately very little information is revealed on them by our sources which are by and large silent. Although painters were recruited in the Mughal atelier from the very beginning of the Mughal Empire, the sources are generally silent as far as their social life and status is concerned. Apart from the Imperial atelier, a sizeable number of this group earned its livelihood in the private ateliers established by the by the Mughal nobles. The Mughal painter was helped in his endeavour by other professionals like paper makers, scribes, and a number of apprentices and other artists and calligraphers who endeavoured to produce the Mughal manuscripts.

The last three chapters (Chapter VII, VIII and IX) discuss theme like marks and symbols (as well as signatures) used by the professionals of the Mughal period; the type of housing which they used and the way these classes have been depicted in the miniatures of the period. Generally speaking, the miniatures depicting the various professionals are much more revealing as compared to the written sources of the period. The type of housing in which they resided reveals their social and economic status; while the symbols employed by them reveal their self perception and bindings as member of a group or a 'class'.

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Mughals I would have never worked on this theme. Athar Sahab let me use his *Apparatus* at a time when it was still in manuscript form.

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I must confess that all the faults which are their in this thesis are my own for which I take full responsibility.

Syed Ali Nadeem Rezavi

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

The concept of middle class emerged in the fourteenth Century England with the rise of a trading community which monopolized certain spheres of trade and gradually organized itself into associations and groups. This urban based class represented the antithesis of the old regime which was based upon fief and personal service.[1] The new class going by the name "middle classes" comprised not only merchants, but also professional persons (lawyers, physicians, printers, Master-artisans, etc.) who as individuals appeared to be independent of the feudal nobility. The social and political vacuum created by feudal decline was being steadily filled by the rising middle class and the monarchy which was the initial support behind its development. Thus in the words of Lewis and Maude:

> The trading, travelling, money-making middle class is presented to us as the antithesis of feudalism, that stable pyramid of society in which each man owed allegiance to his overlord, paying him with services in kind in return for his rule and protection.[2]

But till the advent of the Industrial revolution in the eighteenth century, these social strata were contained to an extent on account of the technological backwardness. It was only with the advent of machine and growth of Industries that the Middle Classes could create a new social order, incorporating the rising Industrial entrepreneurs.[3]

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[1] For the growth of the middle classes in England, see Lewis and Maude, *The English Middle Classes*, 1949; see also B.B.Misra, *The Indian Middle Class – Their Growth in Modern Times*, OUP, 1961, pp.4 – 7.

[2] Lewis & Maude, *op.cit.*, p.13.

[3] See for example K.N.Raj, "Politics and Economies of Intermediate Regimes", *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol.VIII, no.27, July 7, 1973, p.1191

One of the peculiar features of the Middle Classes in Europe was that as a class it was independent of the State control: though as individuals, its members were quite often in the pay of either a noble or the state itself. The basic element which distinguished these members of the Middle Class was their professionalism.

Having its origin in the thinking of the French physiocrats, the concept of bureaucracy also developed with the rise of machines and industries in the eighteenth century. It signified a collective designation for officials organized on a more or less systematic basis and discharging executive functions. In so far as power based directly on land control often required direct use of force rather than detailed literate administration, the feudal system (in its classic West European form) had little scope for true bureaucracy. Bureaucracy began to develop in West Europe as the growth of royal power accompanied the disintegration of feudalism. A complex apparatus of administration now tended to take shape. The rise of this bureaucracy synchronised with the rise of Middle Classes.[4] It was from this class that the European bureaucracy came to be increasingly recruited. This was the case with the royal bureaucracy even in the *Ancient Regime* in France.

The existence of a middle class has been denied in Mughal India by a number of modern scholars basing on a comment of François Bernier, a French traveller who came to India during the 17th Century. Bernier in his famous comment claimed that:

> ...there is no middle state in Delhi (India). A man must be either of high rank or live miserably...[5]

The difficulty with Bernier is that coming from France; he tried to look at everything in Mughal India with a European bias. He went so far as to consider the king as the

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[4] For the various definitions of the term 'bureaucracy' and its conceptual development in the West, see B.B.Misra, *The Bureaucracy in India: An Historical Analysis of Development upto 1947*, OUP, 1977, pp.1 – 37.

[5] François Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire, AD 1656 – 1668*, tr. A.Constable, 2nd ed. & revised by V.A.Smith, New Delhi, 1983, p. 252.

proprietor of the land apparently because the large size of revenue looked to him as the proprietor's rent.[6] Having being conditioned by emerging modern Europe, Bernier could never imagine that the peasant could ever own the land. By witnessing the frequent transfers of the *jagirdārs*, he knew the land could not belong to him. It is, therefore, not certain if Bernier was accurately reporting when he spoke about the non-existence of the 'middle class'. Secondly we should be further cautious as Bernier is referring to "middle state" or stratum and not talking of the middle class. Moreland accepted the view of Bernier and denied the presence of this 'class' in the Mughal Empire. The only exception he made was regarding the 'mercantile class' whose existence he accepted; he also admitted the existence of 'something like a middle class' in Bengal.[7] He goes on to say:

> There were at this time no lawyers, very few if any professional teachers, no journalists or politicians, no engineers, no forms of employment corresponding to the modern railway, postal or irrigation services, or to factories and large workshops, few landholders in the modern sense, and, unless I am mistaken, scarcely any families living upon accumulated property; and if we remove these elements from the middle classes as they exist to-day, we shall find that there is very little left, beyond the families dependent on the various public offices.[8]

B.B.Misra also believes that this 'intermediate group' did not enjoy an independent position of its own or social prestige in the Mughal Empire.[9]

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[6] Ibid., pp. 234 & 226.
[7] W.H.Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar – An Economic Study,* London, 1920 (reprint New Delhi, 1983), p.26, 27n.
[8] *Ibid.*,pp.26-27.
[9] B.B.Misra, *The Indian Middle Classes,* op.cit., p.28.

Karl Marx, and later on, Max Weber had also held the view of a static Indian Society, without any real proto-capitalist or middle class.[10] But recent studies have seriously challenged this view.[11]

It was Wilfred Cantwell Smith who raised the issue of middle class in Mughal Empire in one of his early articles.[12] Middle classes, he said, were intricable to the Mughal Empire. He hypothesised that the rise and florescence of the Mughal Empire as a political, economic and cultural process was connected with the florescence from early 16th Century of a prosperous merchant middle class. He further suggested that the widespread prevalence of money-economy greatly helped in the growth of a class which based itself on a non-feudal income.

Smith reasoned that the large size of the Empire greatly helped in the growth of this class, as it facilitated unhindered long distance trade by the merchants. Secondly, he argued that the *mansabdāri* system virtually meant an abolition of a purely landed upper class and its transformation into a class of 'salaried government officials'. Thirdly, he pointed out that with the politico-administrative unification, there was a spurt in the construction of roads and *sarais*. It must have been the merchants "who would have applauded the most" when the roads were constructed. Fourthly, Smith drew the attention to the second regulation of the 'Twelve Ordinances' proclaimed in 1605 when Jahangir ascended the throne, which is a pointer to the importance to the importance of the mercantile and middle classes in the Mughal Empire. For in the ordinance, Jahangir had tried to conciliate the merchants

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[10] For Karl Marx, see *New York Herald Tribune*, June 25, 1853, reprinted in *Articles on India*, Bombay, 1943. See also Irfan Habib, "Marx's Perception of India", *Marx on India and Indonesia*, Karl-Marx-Haus, Trier, 1983; & in *Marxist*, Delhi, Vol.I, No.1, 1983; For Weber's ideas see Morris D.Morris, "Values as an Obstacle to Economic Growth in South Asia: An Historical Survey", *Journal of Economic History,* vol. XXVII, December, 1967, no. 4, pp. 588 – 607.

[11] For a detailed analysis on social change in India, see Irfan Habib, "Society and Economic Change – 1200-1500", *U.P. Historical Review*, vol.II, 1983.

[12] W.C.Smith, "The Mughal Empire and the Middle Classes", *Islamic Culture*, vol. XVIII, no.4, 1944.

by announcing the abolition of practices harmful to their vocation. Lastly, Smith held that the systematization of the currency all over the Empire was an indicator to the growth of this middle class. All this and much more, says Smith, points towards a growing money-economy and the conversion of land revenue into cash, which in turn would lead to a cash nexus benefiting and promoting the middle classes as such. Thus to W.C. Smith, the prosperity and importance of the middle class in the Mughal Empire was no mere speculation.

Moreland, Chicherov, Pavlov and Satish Chandra have supported the general thesis of Smith. [13] All of them discern a widespread prevalence of money-economy resulting from a growing trend of production for the market in agricultural as well as non-agricultural sectors. They also say that the introduction of world commerce by various European companies and the subsequent creation of merchant capital, which was further helped by the 'putting out system' testify to the prosperity of merchants, bankers and people belonging to other professions. Irfan Habib also suggests a 'rural-monetisation' which created surplus agricultural produce which aided urban growth.[14] Iqtidar Alam Khan took up the issue in 1975 and enumerated the various components of the 'middle class', which he defined with E.M.S.Namboodiripad as 'a class consisting of all those who do not belong to either of the two main antagonistic classes'.[15] He has tried to make a functional as well as structural study of the various

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[13] Moreland, *India from Akbar to Aurangzeb*, London, 1923; A.I.Chicherov, *Indian Economic Development in Sixteenth-Eighteenth Centuries*, Moscow, 1971; V.I.Pavlov, *The Indian Capitalist Class: A Historical Study*, English ed., Delhi, 1964; Satish Chandra, Presidential Address, Medieval India Section, *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 1968; and *idem*, "Some Aspects of the Growth of Money Economy in India during the Seventeenth Century", *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, vol. III, no.4, December, 1966.

[14] Irfan Habib, "Potentialities of Capitalistic Development in the Economy of Mughal India", *Enquiry*, New Series, vol. III, no.3, 1971, p.55.

[15] Iqtidar Alam Khan, "The Middle Classes in the Mughal Empire", *Presidential Address*, Medieval India Section, *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 1975; E.M.S.Namboodiripad, "More on Intermediate Regimes", *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. VIII,no.45, December 1, 1973, p.2136; See also Satish Chandra, *Medieval India: Society, the Jagirdari Crisis and the Village*, Delhi, 1982, p. 83-86

components of this middle class like the commercial and financial sections, the lesser official functionaries and the professional classes (e.g. physicians, scholars, artists, architects etc.).

Tapan Raychaudhuri however appears to believe that there existed, what he says, a 'sizeable middle-income group' in Mughal India.[16] He does not talk of a middle class or middle classes in the Mughal Empire.

This dissertation attempts to delve into the question of the existence of an urban professional 'middle classes' in Mughal India. Like Khan and Namboodiripad, the working definition employed is 'a class between the two antagonistic classes'. Dealing with a period when industries were yet far in time we however get references to distinct 'groups' in the Mughal society who were generally urban based and drawing their livelihood by selling their 'skills'. They were 'salaried', mobile, masters of their own fates not necessarily depending on the prebends and benefices of the state (and thus, 'professional'). Although not really conscious of their status as a distinct 'class' in the modern sense of the term, yet they appear to be aware of the distinct character of their own as compared to the Mughal ruling elite and the common masses. In this period one cannot talk of the 'postal or irrigation services, or to factories and large workshops' or the workers and professionals therein, but professionals like physicians, surgeons, architects, engineers, teachers, bureaucrats, master craftsmen, musicians and painters apart from the traders and merchants in the urban centres were aplenty and thriving as a result of their skill and specialised training.

A study of the administrative structure of the Mughal Empire and the *mansabdari* system suggests a kind of bureaucratic apparatus whose roots did not lie

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[16] *Cambridge Economic History of India, vol.I: c.1200 – c.1750*, ed. Tapan Raychaudhuri & Irfan Habib, Delhi, 1983, p.264.

in local customary control over land. As a salary was fixed against their specified and effective *sawār* rank and the duties assigned against it, the *mansabdars* qualify in a sense to be termed bureaucrats.[17] In this dissertation have been included those bureaucrats and functionaries ('lower bureaucracy') whose *mansabs* were not above 500 *zāt*. In the first chapter, thus, have been dealt not only the nature of the Mughal state but also the relationship of this lower bureaucracy with the state. As an illustration, a biographical sketch of a typical Mughal 'bureaucrat' has also been dealt with.

The second chapter deals with a theme on which much has been written: the merchants are the only facet of the 'urban middle class' whose existence, as we have seen, has been acceded to, by Moreland, Smith and others. Even modern scholarship like Ashin Dasgupta, M.N.Pearson, Irfan Habib and others have also contributed much to the debate. Mine is thus a very cursory contribution to the issue.

The third chapter delves into the question of the learned professions, like the scholars, philosophers, scientists and teachers as well as the professionals like the lawyers and judges whose existence in Mughal Empire had been denied by Moreland. The most prominent amongst them were the scholars who have been mentioned by most of the contemporary chroniclers. It was the period when the rational sciences had started being emphasised. Akbar himself tried to include rational sciences like arithmetic, agriculture, household management, rules of governance, medicine, etc., in the educational curriculum. All this, we see, resulted in a profusion of people professing these subjects as a field of their study and attention. Shah Fathullah Shirazi during the reign of Akbar is credited to have created a number of technical devices.

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[17] For an extensive study of the *mansabdāri* and *jāgīrdārī* systems have been carried out by M.Athar Ali see his two monumental works *The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb*, Bombay, 1966 (reprint Delhi, 1997), and *The Apparatus of An Empire – Awards of Ranks, Offices and Titles to the Mughal Nobility: 1575 – 1658*, Delhi, 1985

Similarly during Shahjahan and Aurangzeb's reign we hear of Mulla Shafi'ai Danishmand Khan, who was a 'scientist' of some repute. The importance of the profession of the astrologers and the astronomers is also brought out by our contemporary sources and thus we deal with them in our chapter. However, it is to be pointed out that nothing much is revealed by our sources regarding the astrologers and astronomers apart from their names and the fact that these professionals were much sought during war time as well as during peace. No architectural work would be undertaken in their absence or without their consultation. Unfortunately the questions which we would be interested in regarding their social life and status are left un-answered by out sources.

Administration of Justice during the period under study has attracted much attention of the Modern scholars. But they have mainly studied the judicial set-up and the criminal law of the Mughal state. The question of Civil Law, as practiced, as well as the practitioners of this law has not received its proper due. This forms the theme of a section of the third chapter. From 17th Century we start getting information about the lawyers' profession, who appear to have been free to defend their clients in the court of law. On the basis of the information which one gets from the surviving documents, the *wakils* (lawyers) can divide into a number of categories. Further, it appears that the invocation of the *shara* was meant to be understood as "rule of law", which once entered into, had not to be violated. And it was perhaps this same "law", and not necessarily 'Islamic law' (the *shariat*), dictated by the customs and traditions of the Non-Muslims, which was followed by the 'citizens' of the Mughal Empire. The discussion on the legal professions has been rounded off by a study of a family of Qazis from the region of Bilgram which throws much light on the conditions of a

typical bureaucratic and scholarly family of Bilgram many of whose members had served as regional and local Qazis under the Mughals.

The fourth chapter attempts to analyse the role of the physicians and surgeons as professionals and assess their position in the Mughal society as well as their relations with the imperial ruling class. The chapter starts with a discussion on the existence of 'medical colleges', that is schools imparting medical education, the type of medical training and education imparted to the physicians, their recruitment, salaries and wages as well as types of 'service' available to them to practice. The chapter also deals with the type of intellectual contributions made by the members of this medical profession. An illustrative biography of an 'official' surgeon, who was also a Mughal bureaucrat, has also been given to make the matters clear.

The fifth chapter attempts to bring together as much information as is obtainable about the architects and building workers whose labours sustained the large building industry which make the Mughals so famous. It is how ever quite interesting to note here that although much is written on the construction of the buildings, the construction material as well as the rules of building construction but surprisingly very few architects and engineers have been named by our Mughal sources. There is no question about information on their social status or position. One can only guess. However a perusal of their wages and salaries point towards a differentiation within the ranks of the various professionals and artisans. This probably arose out of their acquired skill and expertise.

The next chapter deals with such professionals as painters, artists and musicians. Unfortunately very little information is revealed on them by our sources which are by and large silent. Although painters were recruited in the Mughal atelier from the very beginning of the Mughal Empire, the sources are generally silent as far

as their social life and status is concerned. However, the importance of this class can be gauged from the fact that they were sometimes ordered by the Emperor to include their self-portraits on the colophon of the manuscripts prepared in the Mughal court and painted by them. Apart from the Imperial atelier, a sizeable number of this group earned its livelihood in the private ateliers established by the by the Mughal nobles. By the latter half of the 17th Century, the *bazar* painters who were self-employed begin to be noticed. The Mughal painter was helped in his endeavour by other professionals like paper makers, scribes, and a number of apprentices and other artists and calligraphers who endeavoured to produce the Mughal manuscripts. Likewise, the musicians who were there large numbers are mentioned but nothing personal regarding them is mentioned by our sources, making it quite difficult for us to surmise much about them except the music which they produced.

The last three chapters (Chapter VII, VIII and IX) discuss theme like marks and symbols (as well as signatures) used by the professionals of the Mughal period; the type of housing which they used and the way these classes have been depicted in the miniatures of the period. Generally speaking, the miniatures depicting the various professionals are much more revealing as compared to the written sources of the period. The type of dressing, their postures and placement (in the composition) reveal their status in the society in a more loud and clear manner than what the word reveals. The type of housing in which they resided reveals their social and economic status; while the symbols employed by them reveal their self perception and bindings as member of a group or a 'class'.

Lastly, it is to be pointed out that this thesis has no formal 'conclusion', not because that there are no conclusions but due to the fact that (a) each chapter is self explanatory; and (b) our sources fail to provide answers to a number of questions

which one would have wished for. A better understanding of the subject may result from future studies and a reading of the so-far un-revealed contemporary and primary source material which still lies buried deep in various archives and libraries.

Chapter I

Bureaucracy and State

[Chapter I.i]

LOWER BUREAUCRACY

[I.i] LOWER BUREAUCRACY

Having its origin in the thinking of the French physiocrats, the concept of bureaucracy developed in the 18th century. In a strict and traditional sense, the word 'bureaucracy' implies a body of officials invested with the exercise of power, delegated to them or possessed by them in their own right. It is a collective designation for officials organized on a more or less systematic basis and discharging executive functions. In so far as power based directly on land control often required direct use of force rather than detailed literate administration, the feudal system (in its classic West European form) had little scope for true bureaucracy. Bureaucracy began to develop in West Europe as the growth of royal power accompanied the disintegration of feudalism. A complex apparatus of administration now tended to take shape. The rise of this bureaucracy synchronised with the rise of the middle classes.[18]

The question of the role and presence of this class in Medieval India has generated much debate. Until recently it was generally held that there was no 'middle class' under the Mughal Empire. And even if there was, then members of this class 'could hope to obtain an adequate income only by attaching himself to the imperial court or to one of the principal governors'.[19] Although denying the general existence of this class under the Mughals, Moreland admitted to the existence of 'something like a middle class' in Bengal.[20] He also took note of the categories of accountants

[18] For various definitions of the term 'bureaucracy' and its conceptual development in the west, see, B.B.Misra, *The Bureaucracy in India: An Historical Analysis of Development upto 1947*, OUP, 1977, pp.1- 37.
[19] W.H.Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar*, London, 1925, pp.73, 77.
[20] *Ibid.*, pp.26-27.

and clerks, but tended to regard them as a parasitical group.[21] B.B. Misra also believed that this 'intermediate group' did not enjoy an independent position of its own or social prestige in the Mughal Empire.[22] Marx and later on Max Weber had also held the view of a static Indian society, without any real proto-capitalist or middle class.[23]

The Weberian thesis was sought to be strengthened by the works of scholars like Stephen Blake, who while discussing the nature of the Mughal Empire, came up with the view that the Mughal rule was in fact a 'patrimonial-bureaucratic' set-up.

The agenda was set by Stephen Blake when he criticized M.Athar Ali[24] and his predecessors (like P.Saran, A.L.Srivastava, Ibn Hasan) for having misunderstood the Mughal government "as a kind of undeveloped fore-runner of the rational, highly systematized military, administrative, and legal framework of *British Imperial India*".[25] Blake disapproves of the fact that Athar Ali puts forward the notion that the Mughal Empire was ancestor to the "British Raj", which instead of being a colonial period, was "late Imperial India". Blake further comments that the views of the above mentioned scholars (especially of Athar Ali) were "a set of unexamined assumptions" which were "non compensated by assigned 'prebends or benefices' and served "at the pleasure of the ruler and often performed tasks unrelated to their appointments." This system of assigning 'benefices or prebends' (the *mansab* and the *jāgīr*), led to a

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[21] *Ibid.*, p.78.
[22] B.B.Misra, *The Indian Middle classes*, op.cit., p.28.
[23] For Karl Marx see *New York Herald Tribune*, June 25, 1853, reprinted in *Articles on India*, Bombay, 1943. See also Irfan Habib, 'Marx's perceptions of India', Trier, 1983. For Weber's views see Morris D.Morris, 'Values as an obstacle to Economic growth in South Asia: An Historical Survey', *Journal of Economic History*, XXVII, December,1967, no.4, pp.588-607.
[24] M.Athar Ali, Presidential Address, Medieval India Section, *Proceeding of the Indian History Congress*, Muzaffarpur Session, 1972, and its slightly revised version, "Towards an Interpretation of the Mughal Empire", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1978, no.1, pp.38-49.
[25] Blake, Stephen Blake, "The Patrimonial-Bureaucratic Empire of the Mughals", *Journal of Asian Studies*, vol.XXXIX, no.1, November, 1979, p.77; see also *idem*, *Shahjahan the Sovereign City in Mughal India, 1639-1739*, Cambridge, 1996, pp.17-25.

loosening of the emperor's control over his officials. To retain his personal grip, the ruler undertook frequent travels to different parts of his empire.[26] These face-to-face encounters renewed the personal bond between the master and the subject. The power of the officials was also sought to be kept under check through frequent transfers, a strong intelligence network and deliberate overlapping of powers and responsibilities between provincial and district offices.[27] Blake goes on to cite Abul Fazl's *Ā'in-i Akbari* as the major proof for his Weberian thesis. We know that Abul Fazl divides his description of Akbar's empire under three heads, *viz.* the *manzil ābādi* (Imperial Administration), *sipāh ābādi* (the Army Administration) and *mulk ābādi* (the Empire) and then sets out to deal with their respective regulations (*ā'in*).[28] Like Blochmann[29], Blake translates *manzil* as 'household' and holds this division by 'Abul Fazl as evidence for the Mughal Empire being a patrimonial-bureaucratic empire. Interestingly, Blake counts the various *kārkhānas* (like the stables of elephant, horse, cow, camel and mules), *matbakh* (the Kitchen Establishment), *khushbu khāna* (the Perfumery) and the Building establishment (*imārat*), mentioned in the first section (*manzil ābādi*) of the *Ā'in-i Akbari* as 'purely domestic'. Their mention along with the mint, the arsenal, the treasury, etc., convinces him of the 'mixing of household and state'.[30] Secondly, he found it significant that the Book Two of *Ā'in-i Akbari*, which deals with the army organization, contains regulations dealing with charitable contributions, feasts, 'fancy bazar', marriage and education. In this scheme Blake found an attempt of the emperor to influence order and shape the lives of his

[26] Blake, "The Patrimonial-Bureaucratic Empire", *op.cit.*,pp.79-80, 91-92.
[27] *Ibid.*, pp.79-80.
[28] Abul Fazl, *Ā'in-i Akbari*, ed.H.Blochmann, Calcutta, 1872, vol.I, p.7.
[29] Abul Fazl, *Ā'in-i Akbari*, trans.H.Blochmann and H.S.Jarrett, annotated by Jadunath Sarkar, New Delhi, 1965, vol.I, p.9.
[30] Blake, "The Patrimonial-Bureaucratic Empire", *op.cit.*, p.83

subordinates, which according to him was typical for a patrimonial-bureaucratic ruler.[31]

While analyzing the third section of the *Ā'in-i Akbari*, which deals with *mulk ābādi* (the Empire), Blake finds the Mughal policy of dividing the realm into *khālisa* and *jagīrs* "the household lands and the assignable lands" as a means to control a large part of the state revenues personally, which is typical of a patrimonial-bureaucratic ruler. He concludes from his interpretation of the third section of the *Ā'in* that the Mughal method of governance had no clear-cut lines of authority, no separate departments at successive levels of administration and no tables of organization. On the contrary, there were groups of men in the Imperial household, who, on the behalf of the emperor, oversaw the provincial and sub-provincial officials.[32] Thus the Mughal Empire, Blake concluded, was not a prototype of the 'British Indian Empire' but was simply an example of the patrimonial-bureaucratic empire. One finds a weak echo of this thesis in even J.F. Richards, who briefly and hesitatingly states this concept in the context of the grandees of the empire.[33]

If we sum up this thesis, what emerges is that the Mughal Empire was a state where (*a*) there was an official class which was somewhat bureaucratic in nature; and (*b*) this bureaucracy was totally 'subordinate' in nature and closer to a patrimonial ideal.

There is no denying the fact that the Mughal Empire was an absolutist state which was presided over by a despotic ruler who held his sway over a ruling elite which was organized on the basis of the *mansabdāri* system. It was this system which

[31] *Ibid.*, p.85.
[32] *Ibid.*, pp.89-90.
[33] J.F.Richards, *The Mughal Empire*, op.cit., p.59.

generated the centripetal tendencies in linking the remote areas with the heart of the empire, the king. For the sake of administration, the entire land of the empire was divided into two administrative categories, the *khālisa* and the *jagīrs*. The *'khālisa sharīfa'* was the land which was kept aside for the imperial use and establishment.[34] The size of this imperial *khālisa,* according to Irfan Habib, was not constant. During the later years of Akbar's reign, in at least three provinces, the *khālisa* accounted for a quarter of the total *jama'* (assessed revenue).[35] It shrank to only one-twentieth of the *jama'* of the whole empire under Jahangir, but slowly rose to one-seventh during the reign of Shahjahan,[36] and ultimately to one-fifth of the total *jama'* in the 10th R.Y. of Aurangzeb.[37] The revenues from the *khālisa* were not meant only for the 'personal' use of the emperor and his household. The 'personal' in Mughal jargon was connoted by the term *khāsa* (*khāsa sharīfa* in the case of the emperor). The income from the *khālisa* was collected by the officials for the Imperial treasury (*khizāna-i 'āmira*) and was spent to maintain the 'Imperial establishment' which comprised a large number of officers, bureaucrats, troopers and artillery-men, apart from a number of retainers and servants, which in no way can be termed as belonging to the 'household'. The large number of *kārkhānas* (workshops), including the stables for various kinds of animals, were also maintained out of this income. The first section of the *Ā'in-Akbari*, which Abul Fazl labels as regulations (*ā'in*) for *manzil ābādi,* deals with the institutions and heads concerned with such establishments. Except for the *matbakh* , which might be termed as *khāsa*, the other departments mentioned in this section are purely related to the state and have nothing to do with 'purely domestic matters', as

[34] M.Athar Ali, *The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb*, Bombay, 1970 (first pub.1968), p.74; Irfan Habib, "Agrarian Relations and Land Revenue", in Tapan Raychaudhuri & Irfan Habib (eds.), *The Cambridge Economic History of India*, vol.I, *c.1200- c.1750*, OUP, 1982, pp.240-41.
[35] *CEHI*, op.cit.,p.241.
[36] M.Athar Ali, *The Mughal Nobility*, op.cit., p.74.
[37] *Ibid.*

alleged by Blake. Horses were the mainstay for any pre-modern and pre-industrial army and society. Transportation of army equipment and material in a pre-modern society depended solely on the strength of the bullocks, carts and mules. Their availability and maintenance would ensure the health of the state more than that of an individual. Their inclusion in the Imperial establishment, whether Western or Asiatic, along with the mint, the state arsenal and the treasury was thus not symbolic of a 'patrimonial' nature of the empire. Blake also finds proof of a patrimonial nature in this section when Abul Fazl lauds Akbar as an '*insān-i kāmil*' (Perfect Man) and his defining the relationship between the emperor and his subject in the *Ā'in-i Rahnamūni* (The Regulations on Guidance).[38] Badauni, the *bete noir* of Abul Fazl suspected that this idea of *insān-i kāmil* was derived from the tradition of Ibn 'Arabi.[39] It has also been suggested that another possible source of this doctrine was Mahmud Pasikhwani, the early 15th Century originator of Wahidiya or Nuqtawiya sect,[40] who believed that the great spiritual souls are born at particular periods.[41] This would then suggest that the thesis of the 'Perfect Man' who is born once in a while is more suggestive for the person of Akbar, rather a theory of state developed for the Mughal Emperors. Interestingly this status was neither claimed nor attributed to any of the other Great Mughals. It however cannot be denied that the Mughal State was an absolute monarchy where the emperor tried to shape the lives of his subjects. The Mughal emperor tried to regulate not only the marriages of his nobility but also their educational curriculum. As rightly pointed out by Blake, Akbar tried to include rational sciences like arithmetic, agriculture, household management, rules of

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[38] Blake, "The Patrimonial-Bureaucratic Empire", *op.cit.*pp.82-83
[39] Badauni, *Muntakhab ut Tawarikh*, ed., Ahmad Ali, Kabiruddin Ahmad & L.W.Nassau Lee, Bib.Ind., Calcutta, 1864-69, vol.II, pp.258-9.
[40] Cf. Irfan Habib, "Two Indian Theorists of the State: Barani and Abul Fazl," presented at the Patiala session of the Indian History Congress, 1998
[41] *Dabistan-i Mazahib*, ed. Qazi Ibrahim, Bombay, AH 1292, p.244. Cf. Irfan Habib, "Two Indian Theorists of the State: Barani and Abul Fazl," *op.cit.*

governance, medicine, etc., in the educational curriculum.[42] Along with it there was a stress on reason (*'aql*) which was to be given precedence over traditionalism (*taqlīd*).[43] This stress on rationalism and reason was something which was unique. Irfan Habib points out that among the two important functions which Abul Fazl assigns to a just ruler (*kār giya*) one is that such a sovereign "shall not seek popular acclaim through opposing reason (*'aql*)."[44] If there was an attempt in the *Ā'in-i Rāhnamūni* to define the relationship between the ruler and the subjects, the *Ā'in-i Rawāi-i Rozi* (Regulations for the Provision of Livelihood) justified the necessity of political authority in the light of the theory of social contract.[45]

A study of the Mughal society reveals the existence of a 'middle class' comprising amongst others, the members of 'lower bureaucracy'(lesser official functionaries having a rank of 500 *zāt* or less), who made their living by selling their professional skill. Although as individuals, they were quite often in the pay of either a noble or the state, yet their distinguishing element was their professionalism. Unlike the nobility and the peasantry, this 'intermediate group' of professionals did not necessarily depend for their livelihood upon the state service or on land. This section of the society as a group can be defined as 'a class between the two antagonistic classes.'[46] Some recent studies have also shown that this newly emerging intermediary group by the 17th Century had started being recruited to influential bureaucratic positions.[47]

[42] *A'in-i Akbari*, op.cit., vol.I, pp.201-2.
[43] *Ibid.*, II, p.229.
[44] *Ibid.*, I, p.3.
[45] *Ibid.*,I, 290.
[46] Iqtidar Alam Khan, 'The Middle Classes in the Mughal Empire', *Presidential Address*, Medieval India section, *PIHC;* see also W.C.Smith, 'The Mughal Empire and the Middle Classes', *Islamic Culture*, vol.XVII, no.4, 1994
[47] A.J.Qaisar, 'Recruitment of Merchants in the Mughal Feaudal Bureaucracy', (unpublished, mimeographed); S.Ali Nadeem Rezavi, 'The Mutasaddis of the port of Surat in the Seventeenth Century', *PIHC*,Burdwan, 1983; *idem*, 'Muqarrab Khan – An Aristocratic Surgeon of the Mughal Empire', *Medieval India I*, 1992.

Recent researches have shown that there indeed was a bureaucracy in the Mughal Empire which was far better organized and systematic than Blake could imagine. Members of this class were neither solely at the 'mercy' of their employer nor were they remunerated only through the assignment of 'prebends and benifices'. Even those belonging to the Mughal elite, the *mansabdārs*, who, according to Bayly had 'some features of the classic bureaucracy'[48] and enjoyed 'prebends and benifices' depended on the service of the members of this class. By the early seventeenth century a skilled and efficient professional corps of "lower and middle-status officials" had emerged as a viable group under the Mughals.[49] A large number of these officers were *khānazāds* (lit.'house-born', or those whose ancestors had also served the empire), although fresh recruitments to this category also took place. This latter group was drawn from *kāyasthas*, *khatris*, petty merchants and groups of 'Indian Muslims'. Mentioning the *kāyasthas*, Manucci writes:

> "In the empire is another Hindu race called *Kaet* (Kayath), who are great scribes and arithmeticians, and through these arts they rule all the courts. Though they receive no high pay, they are still much cherished by the great for their good advice. These men are fond of alcohol, and make sacrifice with it to their idols. In the early morning they bathe their bodies, and almost naked, begin their prayers before the idol, near which they place their pen-and-ink box, with a bottle of the best liquor they can procure. During the ceremony, which usually lasts about an hour, they pour into the inkstand some drops of liquor with the right hand, and taking a little in the same hand, throw it upon

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[48] C.A.Bayly,*op.cit.*,pp.9-10.

[49] See for example, J.F.Richards, "Norms of Comprtment among Imperial Mughal Officials", in *Moral Conduct and Authority: The place of Adab in South Asian Islam*, (ed.) Barbara Daly Metcalf, Univ.of California Press, 1984, pp.255-89. Subsequently reprinted in J.F.Richards, *Power, Administration and Finance in Mughal India*, Great Britain, 1993, pp.255-89.

the idol, and offer the pen-box to it, petitioning for the god's aid through it. Such like idols are small, and generally made of metal."[50]

It was this group which "possessed and refined demanding skills in book-keeping, auditing, minting, correspondence, procurement and supply, record-keeping, information retrieval, and office, stores, and industrial management."[51]

These lower bureaucrats appear to have wielded much power in the Mughal administration. Manucci narrates a tale to emphasise the power of the pen over the power of the sword:

"In Shajahan's time a soldier went to draw his pay, and the official, who was a *kayath*, could not attend to him at once, as he was busy. The angry soldier threatened him, saying he should have to smash his teeth and run him through with his sword. The official said nothing, and paid him; then, jesting, said that with his pen he could do more than he with his sword. The sharpwitted scribe, to get his revenge for the menace, wrote in the book where was entered the soldier's descriptive-roll that he had lost two of his front teeth. For it is the practice in the Mogul country to write the names and personal marks of those who are employed. Some months elapsed, and the soldier appeared again for his pay. The clerk opened the book, and found the description that he was not the man entitled to that pay, for he had two front teeth more than were recorded in the register of the descriptive-rolls. The soldier was put to confusion; his protests and arguments were unavailing; and seeing no other

[50] Manucci, II, p.422

[51] J.F.Richards, *Power,* "Norms of Comprtment among Imperial Mughal Officials",op.cit., p.256; In this paper Richards analyses the life and views of Bhimsen as representative of this petty bureaucratic class.

course if he would not loose his pay and his place, he was obliged to have two front teeth extracted to agree with the record, and in that way got his pay."[52]

From the *Ā'in-i Akbari* it appears that there was a sizeable number of *mansabdārs* enjoying the rank of 500 *zāt* and below. It was this section of the Mughal bureaucracy which can be deemed as belonging to the 'middle class' who not only enjoyed government positions but were also professionals selling their skills as opposed to the higher nobility which entirely depended on state patronage. Abul Fazl probably himself alludes to this distinction when, while providing his list, he says that he included in his list the names of all those, now dead or alive, who enjoyed the rank of 500 and above, but included only those who were alive in the year of compilation (40th RY) who held the rank of 200 to 500 *zāt*. For those holding the *mansab* of below 200, Abul Fazl just gave the numbers. The salary enjoyed by these groups, as provided by Abul Fazl, further helps us to have an idea of the share in state income being enjoyed by the members of this class.(see Table I)

Table I

(Based on S.Moosvi, *Economy of the Mughal Empire*)

MANSAB	MONTHLY SALARY				No.of	Total *zat* Salary			Allowance for Animals
	I	II	III	A	Holders	I	II	III	
500	2,500	2,300	2,100	1,144.75	31	77,500	71,300	65,100	35,487.25
400	2,000	1,700	1,500	727	17	34,000	28,900	25,500	12,350.50
350	1,450	1,400	1,350	613	19	27,550	26,600	25,650	11,637.50
300	1,400	1,250	1,200	561	32	44,800	40,000	38,400	17,952.00
250	1,150	1,100	1,000	486	12	13,800	13,200	12,000	5,826.00

52 Manucci, op.cit., II, p.422

200	975	950	900	449	81	78,975	76,950	72,900	36,328.50
150	875	850	800	355	53	46,375	45,050	42,400	18,788.50
120	745	740	730	329	1	745	740	730	329.00
100	700	600	530	303	250	175,000	150,000	132,500	75,625.00
80	410	380	350	241	91	37,310	34,580	31,850	21,931.00
60	300	285	270	187	204	61,200	58,140	55,080	38,046.00
50	250	240	230	187	168	4,000	3,840	3,680	2,984.00
40	223	200	185	164	260	57,980	52,000	48,100	42,640.00
30	175	165	155	122	39	6,825	6,435	6,045	4,738.50
20	135	125	115	114	250	33,750	31,250	28,750	28,375.00
10	100	83	75	44	224	22,400	18,480	16,800	9,855.00
TOTAL (RUPEES)						722,210	657,465	605,485	362,893.75

Studies on Mughal administrative system have shown that the administrative system at the centre was duplicated and replicated at the *sūba* and *pargana* levels. At the central level the administrative posts were held exclusively by the ruling elite, the *mansabdārs*, while those at the provincial level were shared between the elite *mansabdārs* and the petty officers who could be generally assigned *mansabs* of not more than 500 *zāt*.[53] Mulla Muhammad Tahir I'timad Khan, in addition to his office of *dīwān* (provincial revenue officer) of *Sūba* Ahmadabad, was appointed in 1688 by Aurangzeb as *mutasaddi* (port administrator) of Surat.[54] At that time he had a *mansab* of 200 *zāt*.[55] In 1689 he became the *dīwān* and *faujdār* of the port of Surat.[56] Another case which can be cited is that of Muhammad Muhsin I'timad Ali Khan, who in the 37th RY of Aurangzeb (1693) was appointed to the post of *mutasaddi* of the port of Surat after the transfer of Mir Muhammad Sadiq.[57] In 1695 he replaced his father as

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[53] See for example M.Athar Ali, *The Apparatus of Empire, Awards of Ranks, Offices and Titles to the Mughal Nobility (1574-1658)*, OUP, Delhi, 1985; S.Ali Nadeem Rezavi,*Lower Bureaucracy of the Mughal Empire*, M.Phil dissertation, AMU, 1986.
[54] Ali Ahmad Khan, *Mirat-i Ahmadi*, Baroda, 1928, vol.I, p.318; *Futuhat-i Alamgiri*, MS.BM.,Add.23884 (Rotograph in Department of History Library, AMU),*f.*138 (b).
[55] *Mirat-i Ahmadi*, vol.I, p.318
[56] Saqi Musta'id Khan, *Ma'asir-i Alamgiri*, Karachi, 1962, p.331.
[57] I'timad Ali Khan, *Mirat ul Haqaiq*, MS. Bodelein Library, Oxford, Fraser Collection no.124 (microfilm in Department of History, AMU, Aligarh),*f.*74 (a).

the *dīwān* of *sūba* Ahmadabad.[58] We are not informed about his rank at the time when he held these offices. It was only in 1704 that, he says, his rank was enhanced to 700/200[59] and at that time he held the joint charge of the office of *mutasaddi* of both Surat and Cambay.[60] The same year his *mansab* was raised to 800/240 and he was appointed as the *dīwān-i lashkar* (revenue officer of the army) of Ghaziuddin Khan Firuz Jung, the *sūbadār* of Gujarat.[61] Mughal sources are full of such references and many more examples from the reign of Akbar through Aurangzeb and later Mughals can be cited.

It would not be out of place to point out that such grant of *mansabs* to the bureaucrats holding provincial offices was not just a 'benefice' from above. The latter could refuse the rank assigned to him if he thought it to be below his status. Moreover, even in posting and service, the bureaucrat was not abjectly subservient to his employers. In 1567, when after certain misunderstandings developed between Bayazid Bayat and his employer, Mun'im Khan and the latter unduly reprimanded him, Bayazid refused to reciprocate the conciliatory gestures of Mun'im Khan. [62] When Mun'im Khan made the concessions he wanted, Bayazid partly agreed to join his duties. Still, due to "certain unfortunate incidents" he, did not assume the charge. He was then offered the revenue collection duties of Ghazipur, Zamaniya, Sasaram and Chunar, but chose to pass a few years in '*darweshi*' or unemployment.[63] In 1570-71 Mun'im Khan forced him to join service, but soon, showing resentment, he refused the additional charge of *sarkār* Chunar.[64] Later he resigned only to be placated in 1568, when he joined duties once more. In 1571, he had even contemplated going for

[58] *Mīrāt ul Haqāiq*, op.cit.,*f.*74 (a); *Mirāt-i Ahmadi*, I, p.333.
[59] *Mīrāt ul Haqāiq*, op.cit.,*ff.*75 (a)- (b).
[60] *Ibid.*,*f.*75 (a); *Mīrāt-i Ahmadi*, I, p.382.
[61] *Mīrāt ul Haqāiq*, *f.*75 (b).
[62] Bayazid Bayat, *Tazkira-i Humāyūn wa Akbar*, ed. Mohd. Hidayat Husain, Calcutta, 1941, p.303.
[63] *Ibid.*, p.312.
[64] *Ibid.*, p.313.

pilgrimage, an idea which he abandoned on Mun'im Khan's persuasion.[65] When sometime before 1592, Shaikh Farid Bhakkari, an Indian Muslim,[66] was appointed as *wakīl* (agent/representative) of Abul Fath Dakhani,[67] and was awarded a *mansab* of just 65 *sawārs*, Farid felt unhappy and declined the offer.

It appears that generally all the members of the Mughal bureaucracy, who were appointed at the provincial level enjoyed *mansabs* ranging from 100 to 700 *zāt*, in lieu of services they rendered to the state. It was only in the case of very few that the magic number of 1000 and above as *zāt* rank could be reached. In 1691, Mulla Tahir I'timad Khan, the *dīwān* of *sūba* Ahmadabad and *mutasaddi* and *dīwān* of the port of Surat held the rank of 1,000/900.[68] At the time of his death in 1695[69] his *zāt* rank had risen to 2000.[70] His son I'timad Ali Khan, while serving as the *faujdār* of Baroda, Bakhera and Sonkher, a post which he confesses he attained through the recommendations of Prince Jahandar Shah in 1708,[71] enjoyed the *mansab* of 1000/800,[72] the highest he could attain in his chequered career.

The bureaucrats at the provincial level could hold *mansabs* when they served under nobles in various capacities. They were also free to change their 'masters'. From 1592 down to 1607, Shaikh Farid Bhakkari was an official of the Imperial administration. Soon after his declining the low *mansab* awarded to him by Akbar, he

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65 *Ibid.*, p.340.
66 Shaikh Farid Bhakkari,*Zakhīra tul Khawānīn*, ed.S.Moinul Haq, Pakistan Historical Society, Karachi, vol.I, p.191; vol.II, p.409.
67 *Ibid.*, vol.II, pp.174, 284-85, 378.
68 *Futūhāt-i Ālamgīrī*, op.cit.,*f.*164 (b).
69 *Mīrāt ul Haqāiq*,op.cit.,*f.*74 (a); In *Mīrāt-i Ahmadi* his date of death, however, is recorded as March, 1696 (*Mīrāt-i Ahmadi*, I, p.331).
70 *Zawābit-i Ālamgīrī*, MS.BM.Or.1641,*f.*163 (a); Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab ul Lubāb*, ed.K.D.Ahmad & Haig, Bib.Ind.Calcutta, 1860-74, vol.II, p.380.
71 *Mīrāt ul Haqāiq*, op.cit.,*ff.*76 (a), 166 (a), 208 (a).
72 *Ibid.*,*f.* 76 (a).

was appointed the *nāib* (deputy) of Abul Fath Dakkhani.[73] Within a few months he left this post and joined as the *dīwān* of '*sūba*' Bir in Deccan.[74] In 1605 we find him as the *dīwān* of *sūba* Gujarat, when Shaikh Farid Murtuza Khan Bukhari was the *sūbadār*.[75] In 1606-7, he served as *faujdār* of Lucknow.[76] In 1608-9, he however joined the service of Khan-i Dauran Khwaja Sabir Nasiri Khan, the *sūbadār* of the Deccan, who patronized him in such a way that "this servant was protected from transfers and paucity of *jāgīrs* and *mansabs*".[77] On the very first day of joining service of Khan-i Dauran, he was posted as the *amīn* (revenue collector) of 32 *parganas* in Bijagarh. The same year he was transferred on the same post to the *mahāls* of *sūba* Berar.[78] He served in this capacity till Muhammad Husain Gilani, the *dīwān* of Berar, confirmed Sundardas Gujarati on this post.[79] In 1610, Shaikh Farid left the service of Khan-i Dauran to join the army of Khan-i Jahan Lodi.[80] In 1614, he once again joined imperial service, and Jahangir appointed him as the *dīwān* of the *jāgīr* of Nurjahan Begum,[81] a post which he retained for fourteen years. In 1628, we find him again in the service of Khan-i Jahan Lodi as his *bakhshi-i kul* (Paymaster and Incharge of Attendance).[82] When in 1630, Khan Jahan was killed after his rebellion; Shaikh Farid first joined service with Asaf Khan[83] and then shifted to the service of Mahabat Khan who, Shaikh Farid says, awarded him the initial *mansab* of 100/30, which within a short period of three years rose to 300/100.[84] Under Mahabat Khan, he served on the

[73] *Zakhīra tul Khawānīn*, op.cit., II, pp.174, 284-85, 378.
[74] *Ibid.*,vol.I, p.173; vol.III, pp.12, 132. Bir was not a *sūba*, but only a *sarkār*.
[75] *Ibid.* vol.I, p.137.
[76] *Ibid.* vol.II, p.352; see also vol.I, p.238.
[77] *Ibid.* vol. III, p.23.
[78] *Ibid.*, vol.I. p.158; vol.II, pp.337-8; vol.III, p.23.
[79] *Ibid.*, vol.II, pp.337-38.
[80] *Ibid.*, Vol.II, pp.85, 166.
[81] *Ibid.*, vol.I, p.122. At another place he mentions that he became *dīwān* of Nurjahan in 1613. *Ibid.*, vol.II, p.392, see also vol.II, pp.216, 300, 382.
[82] *Ibid.*, vol.II, pp.174, 264, & 307.
[83] *Ibid.*,vol.II, p.307.
[84] *Ibid.*, vol.II, p.169.

posts of *dīwān, bakhshi, amīn* and *wāqi'a nawīs* (news reporter) of *sarkār* Bir in the Deccan.[85] He continued to hold these posts until 1642, when he joined the service of Sarandaz Khan Qalmaq, the *jāgīrdār* of Dalmau. He was appointed to the office of *wakīl-i mutlaq al-i'nan* (agent with absolute authority) of this noble.[86] Under Sarandaz Khan, Shaikh Farid did not enjoy a *mansab*. He says that he was paid a salary of Rs.1000 per month with no deductions, in addition to Rs.2/- per day for food. But soon after, in 1642-43 we hear that he again enjoyed a *mansab* of 100/30.[87] The rank probably ceased sometime in 1641-42, and he started receiving a cash salary on a monthly basis. But again within a year, he came to hold his initial rank of 100/30 which he continued to hold till at least 1649-50. In January 1649 he mentions his last position as "the *amīn* and *wāqi'a nawīs* of a dozen fortresses in the Deccan". He was serving on the same posts when he completed his book in 1651.[88]

Shaikh Farid's is not a case in isolation. In almost all cases we see that the Mughal bureaucrat was not bound to one master but kept on shifting jobs from the service of one noble to another. Bayazid Bayat, a petty bureaucrat from the reigns of Humayun and Akbar, initially joined service in 1543-44 on some petty position when Humayun was still wandering as a fugitive in Iran.[89] From then on he served with three nobles before joining Imperial service. He served Husain Quli Sultan, *muhrdār* (seal-keeper), for four years as his *munshi* (secretary).[90] At his death, he joined the service of Khwaja Jalaluddin Mahmud at Kishm and was appointed as the *mīr-i*

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[85] *Ibid.*
[86] *Ibid.*, vol.II, p.306.
[87] Andhra Pradesh State Archives, doc.no.309, cf. M.Athar Ali, *Apparatus of Empire*, op.cit.,p.187, no.S 2977.
[88] *Zakhīra tul Khawānīn*, op.cit., vol.III, p.100.
[89] *Tazkira-i Humāyun wa Akbar*, op.cit., pp.2, 3, 32, 36 tec. For a detailed biography of Bayazid Bayat, see my M.Phil dissertation, *op.cit.*
[90] *Tazkira-i Humāyun wa Akbar*, op.cit., p.121.

sāmān.[91] As he was not satisfied, being "not on good terms with the Khwaja's brother", he left the job[92] and willingly joined service under Mun'im Khan, with whom he remained for a period of twenty one years, until the Khan's death.[93] Under Mun'im Khan, Bayazid was initially assigned military duties.[94] Subsequently he was given the task of *tahsīl* (revenue collection) of the *tomāns* of 'Alingar and Qabila Hazār Meshī' with headquarters at Jalalabad (Afghanistan).[95] Throughout his tenure in the service of Mun'im Khan, Bayazid performed military duties along with the work of revenue collection. In 1560, we find him assigned the duty of accompanying Bairam Khan upto a distance when the latter had been granted permission to proceed for *haj.*[96]

The very next year we find him with a diplomatic mission to reason out with Bahadur Khan Shaibani whose *jāgīr* of Etawa had been resumed and had in a state of *'be-jāgīrī'* ('without jagir') had gone to join his brother at Jaunpur.[97] In 1562-63 military duty was again assigned to Bayazid when Mun'im Khan ordered him to muster an army and join the latter in pursuit of a certain Raja Matsu.[98] It was in 1562 that Bayazid was appointed to collect taxes as *shiqdār* of Hisar Firuza, which he claimed was 'once in his *jāgīr*'.[99] The next year we find him again busy in military duties having been given the charge of defending the fort of Hisar Firuza against the rebel Shah Abul Ma'ali.[100] By the middle of 1567 Bayazid was back at his job of revenue collection. He was now appointed to collect the revenues from the *sarkār* of

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[91] *Ibid.*, pp.164-65; see also pp.139-45.
[92] *Ibid.*,p.187
[93] *Ibid.*, p.348.
[94] *Ibid.*, pp.196, 200,210
[95] *Ibid.*, p.218.
[96] *Ibid.*, p.233.
[97] *Ibid.*, p.244.
[98] *Ibid.*, p.253.
[99] *Ibid.*, p.277.
[100] *Ibid.*, pp. 277-80.

Banaras.[101] Very soon Banaras was declared as part of *khālisa* and Bayazid was confirmed as its *shiqdār.*[102] After four years of self-imposed retirement, we find him enjoying the office of *mīr-i māl* and posted in the Imperial court as the Khan-i Khanan's *wakīl* (agent).[103] For the last twenty-three years of his active service, Bayazid joined the Imperial service and was not attached to any of the nobles. Thus in 1576-77, through Imperial orders, he was appointed at Dipalpur, a *pargana* in *sarkār* Ujjain. All duties relating to *jarīb, jama'bandi, nasq,* etc., i.e. measurement and revenue assessment, were in his charge.[104] A few months later he was appointed as the *amin* of *sarkar* Sarangpur, which at that point of time was *khālisa* territory.[105] His next appointment was that of *dārogha-i khizāna* at Fathpur Sikri, a post which he attained and ultimately relinquished in 1578 as he decided to proceed for *haj.*[106] He returned from Mecca to Surat in 1582.[107] After a wait of two years he was summoned to Fathpur Sikri by Akbar and was appointed as the revenue-officer of two *parganas*, one in Fathpur Sikri[108] and *pargana* Sanam. He was also granted an area yielding 29 lakh *dāms.*[109] In 1585 he was made *dārogha* (superintendent) of *kānāt-i mamālik-i mahrūsa* (Imperial mines) and *dār-uz zarb* (Imperial Mint) at Fathpur Sikri.[110] The same year he was also appointed *dārogha-i daftarkhāna-i 'āli* (superintendent of the Imperial Secretariat). Till this time he had not been granted any *mansab*. For five years he worked on these posts.[111] It was only in 1585, almost at the end of his career,

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[101] *Ibid.*, p.299.
[102] *Ibid.*, p. 303.
[103] *Ibid.*, pp. 312-13.
[104] *Ibid.*, p.352.
[105] *Ibid.*, p.353
[106] *Ibid.*
[107] *Ibid.*, pp.357, 360.
[108] *Ibid.*, p.372
[109] *Ibid.*, p.363.
[110] *Ibid.*, p.373.
[111] *Ibid.*

that he was awarded a *mansab* of 100 *zāt.*[112] Two years later in 1585-86, his *mansab* was enhanced to 200 *zāt.*[113] In 1587 when his appointment ceased as the *dārogha-i daftar khāna*, Bayazid was appointed to the posts of *bakāwal bēgi* (Incharge of the Kitchen) and *īshik āgha-i darbār-i haram* (the Imperial usher).[114] But soon he suffered from the paralysis of the left hand and as result had to resign his '*manāsib* (ranks), *jāgīr* and *māhiyāna* (monthly pay)' along with the assignment of *pargana* Sanam which was also transferred.[115] In 1590 he was again reinstated on the post of *īshik āgha* and ultimately in 1591, he was appointed to the offices of the *dārogha* and *amīn* of the Imperial Treasury.[116] At the end of his career we find his *mansab* was finally raised to 300 *zāt.*[117] It is interesting to note that a 'monthly salary' is being mentioned even at a time when he was holding a *mansab* of 200 *zāt*. In fact along with the reporting of conferment and enhancement of *mansab* he is found lamenting that for 'five years' he worked on the posts of Superintendent of Imperial mines, Imperial mint and the Secretariat, and yet he had not been paid his full salary.[118]

From a later time we may cite the case of Bhimsen. Before joining Rao Dalpat Bundela as his secretary, Bhimsen had served under five nobles.[119] Sometime around the 11th RY of Aurangzeb, when he was appointed as the *mushrif* (accountant) of *dāgh wa tas'hīha* (branding verification) in the Deccan,[120] a *mansab* was also

[112] *Ibid.*
[113] *Ibid.*
[114] *Ibid.*
[115] *Ibid.*
[116] *Ibid.*, p.374
[117] *Ā'in-i Akbari*, op.cit., I, p.229.
[118] *Tazkira-i Humāyun wa Akbar*, op.cit., p.373.
[119] For Bhimsen , see J.F.Richards, "Norms of Comportment among Imperial Mughal Officers",*op.cit.;* see also my M.Phil dissertation,*op.cit.*
[120] Bhimsen, *Nuskha-i Dilkusha*, MS. BM., Or.23 (Rotograph in the Department of History Library, AMU, Aligarh),*f.*39 (b).

conferred upon him.[121] Then in 1687-88, when after a period of joblessness, he was again assigned a *mansab*.[122] On both the occasions he fails to mention the specific rank which he enjoyed. Finally, he joined the service of Rao Dalpat Bundela, and was assigned a *jāgīr* and a fixed salary of Rs. 12,000/- per annum.[123]

Another bureaucrat serving at the level of provincial administration and enjoying a *mansab* was Mehta Isardas Chuni,[124] the author of *Futūhāt-i 'Ālamgīrī*. During the first stage of youth, he joined the service of the *Qāzi-ul Quzzāt* Shaikh-ul Islam, and remained attached to him till the age of thirty, when the Shaikh went for pilgrimage at Mecca.[125] Now Isardas took up service with Shuja'at Khan, the *nāzim* (administrator) of Ahmadabad, who appointed him as the *amīn* and *shiqdār* of the *mahāls* of *pargana* Jodhpur.[126] In 1698, he was called upon to undertake a diplomatic mission and reconcile Durgadas, the Rathor rebel to the Mughal cause.[127] On the successful completion of the mission, the emperor granted him a *mansab* of 200 *zat*,[128] which was soon enhanced to 250/10. He was also granted a *jāgīr* at Merta and was stationed at Ahmadabad.[129]

From the afore-mentioned examples it becomes apparent that this bureaucratic class specialized in administration and management, especially in fiscal matters. Their prowess in financial management sometimes put them at loggerheads with the nobles.

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[121] *Ibid.*
[122] *Ibid., f.*98 (a).
[123] *Ibid., f.*101 (a).
[124] J.S.Bird in *History of Gujarat: Its politics and Statistical History,* 1980, p.89 calls him 'Shridas', while Tasneem Ahmad tends to spell his name as 'Ishwardas', see "Ishwardas: a Hindu Chronicler of Aurangzeb's reign", *Islamic Culture*, vol.XLIX, no.4, October 1975, pp.223-31. However BM.MS, add.23884, clearly spells the name as Isardas.
[125] Isardas Nagar, *Futūhāt-i Ālamgīrī*, BM.MS., add.23884, *ff.*166 (b) – 167 (a).
[126] *Ibid., f.*167 (a).
[127] *Ibid., ff.*167 (a) – (b).
[128] *Ibid., f.*167 (b).
[129] *Ibid., f.* 168 (b).

Thus when in 1575, Mun'im Khan died, the *tahwīldars* (officers-in-charge) in his service misappropriated some of the wealth of the deceased noble.[130] On detecting the fraud, Bayazid Bayat, who at that time was the *mīr-i māl* and *wakīl* of Mun'im Khan immediately had the *kārkhānās* (establishments) of the late Khan sealed and all the *tahwīldārs* detained.[131] Bayazid's action was so severe that, he says, not even a minor sum was allowed to be taken by even the family members, out of the late Khan's treasury. The bureaucratic severity can be gauged from the fact that the funeral expenses were met out of the loan of Rs.6000/- extended to the family.[132]

It also appears that these technical administrators had mainly a non-military role to play. It was indeed seldom that they were asked to perform military duties. However, as in the case of Bayazid and Isardas, they could be asked to take up diplomatic assignments. Bayazid did perform military duties, but then, his situation was different. He was serving at a time when the empire was taking shape. Once the empire had been stabilised and once he was no more attached to Mun'im Khan, he transformed himself into a typical civil servant. Richards rightly points out that, by and large, the domain of the professional-technical officers was that of the structural array of subordinate formal offices.[133] Such officers were needed not only in the Imperial and provincial administration, but also at the sub-provincial level and the nobles' establishments. It appears that bureaucrats serving individual nobles or in lesser positions ordinarily did not receive *mansabs*; still it was a lucrative and rewarding source of employment.

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[130] *Tazkira-i Humāyūn wa Akbar*, op.cit., p.350.
[131] *Ibid.*, p.341.
[132] *Ibid.*, p.351.
[133] J.F.Richards, "Norms of Comportment among Imperial Mughal Officers", *op.cit.*,p.269.

One such petty Mughal bureaucrat during the reigns of Shahjahan and Aurangzeb was Balkishan Brahman.[134] It seems that accountancy (*siyāq*) was his family profession and quite a number of his family members were engaged in learning Persian needed to undertake accountancy, and earned their livelihood by this means.[135] He managed to get his initial employment through the recommendations of Shaikh Jalal Hisari.[136] Subsequently, after a short break in service, he took up a job as some sort of a revenue official under a noble at Bareilly. The job was perhaps handsomely paid as he could manage to send a *hundi* worth Rs.100/- from Bareilly to Shahjahanabad.[137] In spite of this he complains in a letter the non-availability of good and permanent jobs and cautions the women of his family against extravagant expenditure.[138] The language which he uses against the women in this letter reflects his contempt for women, representing perhaps the general attitude of his time.

Balkrishan's fears regarding impermanency of jobs seem to have been real. In a *hasb ul hukm* of Mir Aziz, the *dārogha* of *dār ul 'adālat-i 'āliya* (the judicial court), written subsequently, Balkrishan is mentioned as the *qānūngo* of *pargana* Punia.[139] But again he seems to be on the move, for, in a letter from him to a noble, he mentions his employment in or near Kaithal as a revenue official.[140] Soon he appears to be again jobless, and after wandering around for three months, we find him employed with a certain Khidmat Guzar Khan at Sirhind.[141] In this position he was

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[134] For a biographical sketch of Balkrishan , see S.Ali Nadeem Rezavi, "Balkrishan Brahman :A Petty Mughal Bureaucrat", presented at the Annamalai Nagar session of the Indian History Congress, 1984.
[135] *Letters written by Shaikh Jalal Hisari and Balkrishan*, BM.MS., add.16859 (Rotograph in the Department of History Library, AMU, Aligarh), *f.* 97 (a).
[136] *Ibid.*, *f.*99 (b).
[137] *Ibid.*, *f.*60 (b). The total amount sent was Rs.116/-, out of which Rs.16/- were contributed by Daya Ram and Balram, close relatives of Balkrishan.
[138] *Ibid.*, *f.*61 (a).
[139] *Ibid.*, *f.*64 (a).
[140] *Ibid.*, *f.*66 (b).
[141] *Ibid.* *,f.*86 (a).

drawing a monthly salary of Rs.50/- (cash). He still does not appear to be satisfied.[142] In yet another letter, he mentions ruefully his childhood fantasy of becoming a *munshi* (secretary).[143]

The next appointment which he got was that of *faujdār* and *amīn* of *chakla* Hisar, *pargana* Bhatnir and Bhatinda.[144] His son, Rudra Das was appointed along with him as his *nāib* (deputy) at *pargana* Bhatinda. We do not hear more from him about his subsequent career. It is however clear that Balkrishan never achieved his long cherished desire of becoming a *munshi*, though his son Uday Ram succeeded in achieving that position at some noble's court.[145]

It is important to note that these sub-provincial petty bureaucrats were not awarded *mansabs* but were recruited on a monthly cash salary. Unfortunately, information regarding their salary is available only from the reign of Shahjahan onwards. We learn that the *khazānchi-i chakla* (the treasurer of the *chakla)* was drawing a salary ranging from Rs.41/10 *ānnas* to Rs.30/- per month,[146] and that the *madadgārān-i wāqi'a nawīs* (the assistants of the News Reporters) obtained Rs.40/8 *ānnas* per month.[147] The *mushrif-i khizāna* was paid a salary ranging from Rs.50/- to Rs.25/- per month.[148] The *madadgārān-i amīn* (the assistant of the assessor) drew each a salary of Rs.50/-.[149] The *amīn* on the other hand, drew Rs.120/- per month

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[142] *Ibid.*, *f.*86 (b).
[143] *Ibid.*, *f.*62 (b).
[144] *Ibid.*
[145] *Ibid. f.*94 (a).
[146] Malikzada, *Nigarnama-i Munshi*, Nawal Kishore, Lucknow, n.d., p.95.
[147] *Ibid.*, p.94.
[148] *Ibid.*,p.94; Yusuf Husain, *Selected Documents of Shajahan's Reign*, Hyderabad, 1950, nos.74 & 112.
[149] *Nigārnāma-i Munshi*, op.cit., pp.94-95.

(Rs.1440/- per annum).[150] The *mushrif* and *tahvīldār* of *shura-i khām* (saltpetre) drew Rs.30/- per month.[151]

We find that by the reign of Aurangzeb, there was a two-fold increase in the salaries. The salary of the treasurer (*potdār*) was raised to Rs.18/- per month,[152] and that of *mushrif-i khizāna* to Rs.130/- per month (or Rs.1, 560 per annum).[153] During the first few years of the reign of Aurangzeb, the *mushrif* and *tahwīldārs* of the forts in the Deccan were drawing a monthly pay ranging between Rs.25/- to Rs.50/- per month.[154] The *mushrif* of *khizāna-i dādni dast ba dast* (Treasury's pay advances) had a salary of Rs.30/- per month;[155] the *mushrif* of the gardens Rs.15/- per month,[156] the *mushrif* of the *topkhāna* Rs.45/- to Rs.80/- per month.[157] The salary of the *mushrif* of the *chauki* of the *mansabdārs* was Rs.65/- per month[158] and that of the Royal Tomb at Aurangabad was Rs.83/- per month.[159] The pay of the *dārogha* of the gardens, on the other hand, was Rs.120/- per month.[160] However, the lowest paid petty officer appears to have been *naqīb* who was given Rs.6/- per month only.[161] S.P.Gupta, on the basis of the Rajasthan documents, provides us the wages of the *āmils, amīns* and *fotadārs* starting from the reign of Aurangzeb down to 1748, which records the fluctuations in the monthly salary of these officials.[162](See Table II)

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[150] *Selected Documents of Shahjahan's reign*, op.cit.,no.83.
[151] *Ibid.*, no.211.
[152] *Arhsatta* Pargana Chatsu, *VS 1721/ 1664 AD*, cf. S.P.Gupta, *Agrarian System of Eastern Rajasthan*, Delhi, 1986, p.178.
[153] M.A.Naeem, *Mughal documents: Catalogue of Aurangzeb's Reign*, Hyderabad, 1980, vol.I,nos.1060, 170; vol.II, no.407.
[154] *Ibid.*,vol.I, nos.,9, 1280; vol.II, nos. 42, 379, 414, 449, 617, 679; vol.III, nos. 293, 530, 788.
[155] *Ibid.*, vol.I, no.491.
[156] *Ibid.*, vol.I, no.1569; vol.II, nos. 128 288.
[157] *Ibid.*, vol.II, no.633 & 96; vol.I, no.1391.
[158] *Ibid.*, vol.II, no.101.
[159] *Ibid.*, vol.III, no.943.
[160] *Ibid.*, vol.I, nos.1524, 1340; vol.II, no.86.
[161] *Ibid.* vol.II, no.390.
[162] S.P.Gupta, *Agrarian System of Eastern Rajasthan*, op.cit., p.174

Petty officials had to depend on the *hundīs* to send the money earned as salaries to their family members. We have the evidence of Balkrishan Brahman, who sent a sum of Rs.100/- in the form of a *hundi* from Bareilly to Shahjahanabad through a messenger.[163] Sometimes, this process of transacting money through *hundis*, could also be cumbersome. Thus we have the evidence of Abdul Jalil Bilgrami, a petty official at Bhakkar during Auranzeb's reign, who had to despatch money to his son at Bilgram, near Kannauj. The *sarrāfs* at Bhakkar would draw a *hundi* on Multan, at Multan on Lahore, at Lahore on Agra, and then at Agra on Bilgram (Kannauj). Bilgrami took the easy way of writing to his son to draw a *jawābi* (reverse) *hundi* from Bilgram for Bhakkar. That would take care of the trouble of following the bill of exchange from one city to the other, for now the *mahājan* would be responsible to collect the money as well as ensure 'the proper specification of the rupee, mintage, year of issue [in which the payment is to be made].'[164] The author of *Khulāsat ut Tawārīkh* informs us that the *sarrāfs* would also convey valuables, merchandise and other goods from one place to another in lieu of a fee. This might have also helped and facilitated the financial dealings of the officials who were frequently being transferred from one place to another.

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[163] *Letters of Balkrishan*, op.cit., *f.* 60 (b)
[164] "Original Letters from a Father to his Son on various subjects", *The Oriental Miscellany, consisting of Original Productions and Translations,* vol I, Calcutta, 1878, p.156.

TABLE II

ANNUAL SALARY OF ĀMIL/KĀRKUN, AMĪN,& POTDAR

[in Rupees]

YEAR	*PARGANA*	AMIL/KARKUN	AMIN	POTDAR
1664	Niwai	-	200	18
1732	-do-	1000	-	-
1739- 42	-do-	912	-	-
1664	Chatsu	1, 500 (karkun)	1, 500	-
1694	-do-	988	988	-
1725	-do-	912	-	-
1730	-do-	1, 669	1, 669	-
1714	Malpura	800	900	18
1716	-do-	800	900	18
1717-19	-do-	900	900	18
1720	-do-	1, 800	1, 800	-
1723	-do-	1, 600	1, 600	12
1726-30	-do-	1, 600	1, 600	12
1732	-do-	1, 600	1,600	15
1734-35	-do-	1, 600	1, 600	12
1741-43	-do-	1, 600	1, 600	12
1750	-do-	1, 800	1, 800	20
1665	Gasnri	600 (karkun)	700	-
1716	Mauzabad	1, 200	-	18
1730	Malarna	1, 400	1, 400	-
1731	-do-	1, 600	1, 600	-
1730	Anraina	1, 300	1, 300	-
1740	Bahatri	800	800	-

1744	Khandeli	1, 400	1, 400	-
1746	Lalsot	1, 400	1, 400	12
1748	-do-	912	-	-

The salaries the officials received were further supplemented by the income from fraudulent practices and cheating the state and the nobles. Surat Singh, a petty Mughal bureaucrat during the reign of Shahjahan, tells us incidentally that the *qānūngos* along with the *patwārīs* would sometimes fake the village records.[165] He also mentions the fraudulent practices of a *mushrif* in the *sarkār* of Saf Shikan Khan.[166] Iqtidar Alam Khan in one of his papers cites a large number of such fraudulent practices and cheating by the members of Mughal bureaucracy.[167] He rightly suggests that the fact that the incidence of *jama'* being not even half the average *dastūr*-rates was due to "large scale defalcation of revenues by the officials mainly through their clever manipulation of records".[168]

Commenting on the tendency of bribery amongst the professional scribes, Bhimsen writes:

> "There is a great difference between (hereditary) professional (writers) and unprofessional. Those who are of this profession are not wanting in generosity; while unprofessional (writers) disregarding the good and harm of the soldiers, extend their palms for bribes."[169]

[165] Surat Singh, *Tazkira-i Pir Hassu Taili*, MS., Department of History, AMU, Aligarh, *ff.*112 (a) – (b).
[166] *Ibid.*, *ff.*162 (a) – 163 (b) , 164 (a) – (b).
[167] Iqtidar Alam Khan, "The Middle Classes in the Mughal Empire", *Presidential Address* to the Mediaeval India section of the Indian History Congress, Aligarh session, 1975,pp.10-13.
[168] *Ibid.*, p.13.
[169] *Nuskha-i Dilkusha*, *f.*140 (b)

Bhimsen, in extreme frustration against the dishonest professionals in this class, further exclaims:

> "I wished to name in detail these scribes who have risen to the rank of *nāib peshdat*, to the *diwāni* officers, *bakhshi* and others, who accumulate large sums and give improper bribes. But I do not consider this proper..."[170]

The prevalence of bribery in the bureaucratic class is also attested by I'timad Ali Khan when he specifically mentions that a case in the court against a fraud committed by a *baqqāl* (*banya*) was lost as the *munshi* took a bribe of Rs.500/- from the *baqqāl*.[171]

The *Tazkira-i Pīr Hassu Taili* records many examples of the financial bungling by the petty officials. Surat Singh speaks of the cheating by the *qānūngos*, who along with the *patwāri* would sometimes fake the village records. It is ironic to note that Surat Singh mentions a local saint allegedly giving 'moral' support to a *qānūngo's* forging the village records with the object of frustrating an enquiry into the conduct of a *shiqdār*.[172] Sometimes the attempt to hoodwink the state by these petty officials also led to scuffles amongst them.[173]

It appears that the Mughal bureaucrats, even those at the lowest rung, in spite of all their verbal protestations, often lived an easy life. Surat Singh himself bought a house in a prosperous neighbourhood of Lahore for a princely sum of Rs.700.[174] He further cites several examples of affluence in his *Tazkira*. Thus Khwaja Hari Chand, a *pargana* level official had so much wealth that he freely distributed money and cows

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[170] *Ibid.*
[171] *Mirat ul Haqaiq*, *f.* 397 (b).
[172] *Tazkira-i Pir Hassu Taili*, op.cit., *ff.* 112 (a) – (b); see also *ff.* 162 (a) – (b)
[173] *Ibid.*, *ff.* 164 (a) – (b)
[174] *Tazkira-i Pir Hassu Taili*, op.cit., *f.* 181 (b).

among the Brahmans. He reportedly also ate with them every morning and offered meal to the members of all the thirty-six castes.[175] Another petty bureaucrat, Muhammad Shafi, *buyūtāt* (steward), built a mosque in Muhalla Tilla at Lahore with his money sometime before 1644.[176] Ganga Ram, the brother of Surat Singh and *'āmil* of Jahangirpur, who only a few years back was in dire economic condition, now all of a sudden grew fabulously rich.[177]

The material condition of these bureaucrats is well reflected in our sources. Bahram Saqqa, the elder brother of Bayazid Bayat, in 1561 had a house in Delhi near the gate of the fort, from where, we are informed, he used to serve drinking water to the common people.[178] Bayazid Bayat, who was himself a petty official, owned at least two *havelis* at Delhi and Agra.[179]His financial position was such that in 1571 he made an offering of an elephant worth Rs.2000/- to the emperor and then in 1575 we find him extending a loan of Rs.6000/- to the family of Mun'im Khan after the latter's death.[180] Three years later, he was found with 'only Rs.1 lakh in cash and a few articles' while on his way for pilgrimage. A case of embezzlement was sought to be brought against him, which, he somehow managed to overcome.[181] On his return from pilgrimage, where he spent much wealth we still find him capable of constructing a *haveli,* a *saqqa-khāna* and a mosque near the fort at Lahore.[182]

Similarly we have the evidence from Bhimsen that his father, as *mushrif-i topkhāna* in 1661-62 got a house constructed with a beautiful garden laid at

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[175] *Ibid.,ff.*175 (a) – (b).
[176] *Ibid.,f.*181 (b).
[177] *Ibid.,f.*122 (a).
[178] *Tazkira-i Humāyūn wa Akbar,* op.cit.,p.237
[179] *Ibid.,*pp.234, 242.
[180] *Ibid.,* pp.340, 351.
[181] *Ibid.,* pp.354-55
[182] *Ibid.,* pp.377, 2, 68 etc.

Aurangabad. He also undertook the construction of a water-course for the benefit of the people of that city.[183] The affluence of Bhimsen himself can be gauged from the fact that in 1667-68, he could hold a 'big feast which lasted for forty days' which included the performances of 'dancing girls of every kind' to celebrate the birth of a son.[184] Then again in March 1672, we find him lavishly celebrating the festival of Holi. He himself writes that 'the way I used to show my liberality was extra-ordinary and superior to that of the high class nobles'.[185]

Although I'timad Ali Khan, a lower bureaucrat serving during the reigns of Aurangzeb and his successors, keeps on lamenting over the impermanence of jobs and salary, his lifestyle reveals a lavish attitude. In October 1721, while travelling from Agra to Surat, we find him bestowing costly gifts upon his acquaintances. Amongst the presents are articles like '*khanjar* gilded with *aqīq* (agate)', shawls, hubble-bubbles (*huqqa*) and guns.[186]

Financial administration being largely managed and controlled by this group of proficient officers and clerks by the 16th Century this class of bureaucrats had become indispensable to the state. Although not formally trained in the job of administration in the modern sense, they were usually trained by their family in official Persian terminology, accounting, and reporting methods.

It is important to note that the Mughal bureaucrats rarely had a *zamīndari* or landed origin, neither did they invest their wealth in it. A perusal of the sources, on the other hand, aroused hostility from the ordinary people and suspicions within the

[183] *Nuskha-i Dilkusha, f.*24 (b).
[184] *Ibid., f.*37 (a).
[185] *Ibid., f.*59 (a).
[186] Itimad Ali Khan, *Mīrāt ul Haqāiq,* Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS. Fraser Collection, no,124 (Microfilm in Research Library, Department of History, AMU), *f.* 209 (a)

ruling class. Kabir in one of his verses, in fact compares the revenue-collectors' (*'āmils*) attitude in settling the accounts with that of God's angels taking account of deeds after death.[187] Surat Singh, on the other hand, mentions the harsh treatment meted out to petty bureaucrats by the state.[188]

We have some references to bureaucrats having a mercantile origin from the period of Humayun onwards. Example can be given of Muldas Biholia, (the grandfather of the author of *Ardhakathānak*), the member of a family of Jain merchants, serving as *modi* of a Mughal noble posted at Narwar in Malwa.[189] Another bureaucrat having a mercantile background belongs to the reign of Shahjahan: Surat Singh says he belonged to the Kamboj sept of the town of Natesar near Lahore. The Kamboj of Natesar, he further says, were merchants (*tujjār*) and engaged in trade and commerce.[190]

It appears that by the first half of the 18th Century, there occurred a large-scale infiltration of outsiders into the ranks of the lower Mughal bureaucracy. In a petition filed by Gokul Ram Brahman to Maharaja Bishan Singh, the petitioner writes:

> "The petitioner possessed the office of *chaudhari* of *pargana* Chatsu since the time of Maharaja Bharmal. Now his livelihood has been assigned to

[187] Cf. Irfan Habib, "Evidence for Sixteenth Century Agrarian Conditions in Guru Granth Sahib", *IESHR, vol.I, no.3*, Jan-March, 1964.
[188]
[189] Banarsi Das, *Ardhakathanaka*, tr. & annoted as *Half A Tale*, ed., tr., Mukund Lath, Jaipur, 1981, verse 14, p. 3
[190] *Tazkira-i Pir Hassu Taili*, op.cit., *f.*181 (a).

Jag Ram, a *bania*. But he (Brahman) is prepared to pay one and a half time more than him in case this right is restored to him."[191]

From this passage it becomes apparent that Gokul Ram is hinting towards the *ijāra* system which was being resorted to during this period.[192] The rise of mercantile element in Mughal bureaucracy can be traced to this sale of *ijāras*. Yet, even apart from it, the mercantile presence kept on increasing. Under the later Mughals, at Amber, the post of *potdār* (treasurer) at the *pargana* level came to be generally held by a *mahājan*.[193] Between 1713-50 more than fifty percent of the *'āmils* and *amīns* in the *parganas* of Amber were the merchants, (*sāh, mahājan*).[194] These *sāhs* and *mahājans,* as *amān* and *'āmil,* demanded revenues from the peasants, who due to uncertainty of production and the heavy demand, were forced to take loans from the money-lenders (*mahājans*). Thus this group kept on enlarging their income and wealth at the expense of both the state and the peasantry.

This probably was not a phenomenon confined only to Rajasthan. A group which was subservient to the Mughal ruling elite during the reign of Akbar was by the time of Aurangzeb, emerging as a class vaguely conscious of its existence and interests. The helping hand extended by Balkrishan Brahman, Ganga Ram and Shaikh Kamal to their fellow bureaucrats, if seen in this light, appear as a logical step in this direction.

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[191] *Iltimas*, Reg.no.124, Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner. Cf.SP Gupta, *Agrarian System of Eastern Rajasthan*, op.cit., p.175.

[192] For the *ijara system*, see Dilbagh Singh, "Ijarah System in Eastern Rajasthan, 1750-1800", *Proceedings of the Rajasthan History Congress*, no.vi,1973, pp.60-69.

[193] See SP Gupta, *Agrarian System of Eastern Rajasthan*, op.cit., p.176.

[194] *ibid.*, Appendix II (a) & II (b), chapter viii.

It is obvious from the above examples that there was spatial and professional mobility in this group of officials. They could also exercise their choice of patron. This again would suggest class cohesion.

To conclude, we can say that there was a class under the Mughals which instead of depending on the State, based itself on its own professional skills and expertise. Within it, there was a class of officials, apart from the *mansabdārs*, who closely resemble the modern concept of bureaucracy, which was not exactly 'subordinate' in nature and was far removed from a patrimonial ideal of Weber and Blake. They were a trained, salaried, non-combative administrative class which was extremely loyal to the Mughal 'constitution' and helped in extending its authority beyond the narrow confines of major cities and highways. If ever there was a 'grid', it was dismantled by the large number of *pargana* and *chakla* based bureaucrats, who helped the Mughal system and culture to reach the very grass-root level. The Mughals created a bureaucratic system and a 'class' which survived even after the Empire was no more. It was the members of this class, who transformed medieval India into Modern, despite the later colonial onslaught.

[Chapter I.ii]

Port Officers:
The *Mutasaddis* of the Port of Surat

[I.ii] Port Officers:

The *Mutasaddis* of the Port of Surat

The term *Mutasaddi* in Mughal documents ordinarily denoted an officer but in relation to ports (such as Surat, Broach and Cambay), it denoted high official whom the English Factors referred variously as a 'Governor' or 'Customer'. The English President Fremlin attributed to the *Mutasaddi* (of Surat) "little lesse then regall power over your estates and our persons".[195] Another factor asserted that "the Governor's (i.e., the *mutasaddi*'s) Will is law". It was he who set the prices for the commodities.[196] He could detain goods carried through his port, forbid the export or import of certain commodities[197] and even order a general 'boycott' of those who did not accept his decrees.[198] Hawkins says that if any person who was a 'stranger' wanted to carry on trade at Indian ports, he had to obtain permission from the *mutasaddi*.[199] In fact he literally negotiated on behalf of his government with the foreign merchants.[200] The collection of the customs and the checking of goods was an integral part of his functions.[201]

Over the market of the port-town he exercised much influence. To him went the right of first purchase. The English Factors wrote of Cambay that:

> "The Governor's (of Cambay) buying of goods which course he still continueweth and hath seven dayes past putt another project. One footte for

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[195] *English Factories in India*, 1637-41, ed. Foster p. 96.

[196] *E. F. 1634-36*, p.244, cf. M. P. Singh, 'Role of Mutasaddis in the port Administration of Surat', (unpublished paper); Ashin Das Gupta comments extensively on his position during the 18th Century in *Indian Merchants and the Decline of Surat, c:1700-1750*, Wiesbaden, 1979.

[197] *EF,1622-23*, p.78, 144, 263.

[198] *EF, 1618-21*, pp.89,131, 134-5 147-8, 187 etc; Letters Received, IV, pp.78,81, 83, 85

[199] William Hawkins, *Early Travels*, p.71

[200] *Letters Received*, II, pp.157-58: 'As for Mocrob Chan (*mutasaddi* of Surat), all business concerning us and our trade is referred unto him, and as he adveseth so things pas and what hee gfanteth there will be confirmed here....'

[201] For this see *Letters Received*, IV, p.78; *EF, 1622-23*, pp. 265 & 267; Tavernier, *Travel in India*, tr. V. Balls, I, London, 1889, p.38; Thevenot, *Account of India*, tr. Lowell, 1687, p.163.

his gaine, which is extorting from the brokers of this town one of their twoe in the hundred brocheridge for whatt goods (bought) by them; to which and hath commanded to all brokers to give a dayly account of whatt they buye and to all the merchants for they lycke accompt of whatt they sell and that none may be sould but in the bazaar..."[202]

In case of misunderstanding or a quarrel between the government and the foreign merchants, he held the power to decree that the brokers and workers may not take employment with them.[203]

In other words, the *mutasaddi* not only held the port but also the town market under his sway. Ali Muhammad Khan mentions him as maintaining military contingents, and he sometimes used them in the defence of his port-town and the adjoining areas.[204] Thus when Shivaji plundered the port of Surat in 1664, Inayat Khan, the *mutasaddi* of Surat was ordered to build a fort there.[205]

The port of Surat gained prominence during the middle of Jahangir's reign and obtained much prosperity under Shahjahan and Aurangzeb. The protection and safety of the port was one of the essential obligations of the *mutasaddi*.[206] With the growing prestige of the Surat port, it was but natural for the importance of the *mutasaddi* of Surat to grow. Thus we find that the *mutasaddi* was also assigned additional offices. Muhammad Hashim, *mutasaddi*, held the office of *faujdar*.[207] Similarly Kartalab Khan was simultaneously a *mutasaddi* and *faujdar* of Surat port.[208] Amanat Khan was

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[202] *EF, 1622-23*, p.169; see also ibid, p.173; *EF, 1618-21*,pp.12, 151; Cf. also *Mirat-i Ahmadi*, Ali Muhammad Khan , ed. S.Nawab Ali, Part I, Baroda, 1928, pp. 260-62.

[203] *EF,1622-23*, p.169

[204] *Mirat-i Ahmadi*, I, p.351; *Letters Received*, I, p.150; *ibid.*, II, p.261, etc; Hawkins, *op.cit.*, p.71

[205] *Mirat-i Ahmadi*, I, pp. 256-7. As to why till yet such an important port never had city wall or fort, we can but guess.

[206] Bibliotheque Nationale, Supplement Persian 482, Paris, *ff.49* (a) – 50 (a) (copy in the Research Library, Deptt.of History, AMU, Aligarh); For details see Farhat Hasan, "The Mutasaddis of Surat – Evidence of Persian Records of the 17th Century, *PIHC*, Warangal, 1992-93, pp. 276 - 80

[207] *Ibid.*, I, p.259

[208] *Ibid.*, I, pp.316-17

the *diwan* of *Suba* Gujarat as well as the *mutasaddi* of Surat.[209] Not only this, but we find that most of them also held charge of ports of Cambay, Broach, Gogha, etc.

Yet the *mutasaddi* of Surat, his authority was not unrestrained. From a *farman* of Shajahan, issued in 1638, it appears that the *mutasaddi* was theoretically expected to work 'in consultation' with the provincial authorities.[210] If the *mutasaddi* exceeded his authority, the merchants were also at liberty to make complaints against him to the *subedar* of Gujarat and to the Emperor. The Emperor not only entertained such complaints but might also take action thereon. In 1664 when Inayat Khan the *mutasaddi* of Surat failed to check his son, whom he had appointed head of custom house, from abusing his authority, the merchants complained to the Governor of Gujarat and to the Emperor.[211] Inayat Khan's removal from the post of *mutasaddi* was clearly a sequel of these charges.[212] It seems from the accounts of the English factors that Inayat Khan's immediate predecessor Mustafa Khan has been removed for a similar reason: the abuse of his authority by his son, against which a complaint was lodged.[213]

The appointment of the *mutasaddi* of Surat port was directly made by the Emperor. The considerations for the selections were various. Jahangir appointed his favourite Muqarrab Khan for the reason that he was an expert in procuring rarities and precious stones.[214] The English factors alleged that Mir Musa Muizzul Mulk succeeded in getting an extension in his term in 1632, and secured for himself a reappointment as the *mutasaddi* of Surat in 1638 by making expensive presents to the Emperor:

[209] *Ibid.*, I, pp.318, 331; for more examples see *ibid*, I, pp.229, 234.
[210] *Farman* of Shahjahan dated March 1638, Bibliotheque Nationale, Supplement Persian 482, Paris, *ff.*35 (a) – (b)
[211] *EF, 1661-64*, p.206
[212] *Ibid.*, p.314
[213] *Ibid.*, pp.203-6
[214] For his biography see infra, Chapter 5 (ii)

"This countrie begineth nowe to bie repeopled. Great discommendacions of the Magull himself and the wicked Governor of Surratt (Mir Musa) who hath by a bribe of 10,000 *li.*, procured a longer contynuance of his gøverment in Surratt."[215]

Probably it was during the reign of Shahjahan that the system of farming out the post of *mutasaddi* started. In 1630's and 1640's the Port of Surat was given out as a farm (*ijara*) to a Customer. President Fremlin of the English Factory thus records in January 1642:

"Towards the fine of Sept., Mazel Mulkes (Muizzul Mulk's) covenanted time of governing this (Surat) Country and *farming this custom- house* and mint expiring, Jam Cullibeag, (Jam Quli Beg), assisted with the former Dewan and one Mirza Arub, purposely designed to the costume house business, entred on this government; whose face is now quite changed, for whereas before dispatch of all business depended solely on Mazel Mulk's direction, because hee being obliged to pay the king three yeares 72 lakhs of m(ahmudis) for provenue of this adjacent country, mint and custome house, not any of the kings ministers intermedled. But hee, it seems, promised more then hee could performe by 31 laachs or 3, 1000,000 m (ahmudis), which hee yet owes the king & therefore called ..."[216]

Fremlin had written earlier:

"Hee (Hakim Masihuzzaman) is just now outed of his government by Mezar Mulcke, who also wrought out and succeeded by farming Surratt at a greater rent..."[217]

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[215] *EF, 1630-33*, p. 193. For further examples of making *nazrāna* by the *mutasaddi* to the emperor and high officials, see *Mirat-i Ahmadi*, I, pp. 208, 215, 218, 222, 230, 255; *EF, 1618-21*, pp.54, 308 etc

[216] *Ibid.,1642-45*, p.193

[217] *Ibid., 1637-41*, p. 100

Thus the highest bidder held the best chance to get this post of *mutasaddi* of the port of Surat. The *ijāradār* (revenue-farmer) was entitled to claim land revenue as also the revenue from fiscal units (*mahāls*) that came under the *sāir jihāt.*[218]

In the account of the year 1054 AH(1644-45 AD) the author of *Mīrāt-i Ahmadi* mentions the grant of "The Sarkar of Surat port" to Begam Aliya (Prince Jahànarà), as *in'am.*[219]

Out of twenty-two names which I have been able collected from the *Mīrāt-i Ahmadi*, *Bādshāhnāma*, and the *English Factory Records* who held the post of the *mutasaddi* during the reigns of Jahangir and Shahjahan, only eight are found to have *mansabs* mentioned against their names. For the other eight there is no mention of designation.[220] Among the eight who have their *mansabs* mentioned, there are some high ranking *mansabdārs*. For example we have Muqarrab Khan, who at the time of his appointment held the rank of 3000/2000 which was soon enhanced to 5000/5000. Another, Mulla Sadra, Hakim Masihuzzaman held the rank of 3000/500, [221] and Muizzul Mulk, 1500/300.[222] The last mentioned is also said to been posted as *mutasaddi* of Surat, as an *ijāradar* without *mansab*[223]. The other five had *mansab* of 500 *zāt* each.

From the reign of Jahangir comes an example of a merchant, Miza Ishaq Beg[224] being appointed as the *mutasaddi* of Surat thrice.[225] During Shahjahan's reign

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[218] Bib. Nationale Suppl. Persian 482, op.cit

[219] *Mīrāt-i Ahmadi*, I, p. 219: "The *Sarkar* of Surat Port was granted in *inam* to Begum Aliya, which had three crores of dams. Annually it becomes seven lacs fifty thousand rupees; with the port it is one crore, which in 12 months it two lakhs and fifty thousand rupees. Its income during this time was five lakhs of rupees which in total is 14 crores of dams on, account of arrival of a large number of merchants from all parts of land and sea." See also *Mīrāt-i Ahmadi*, I, p. 234.

[220] See Prof.M.Athar Ali, *Apparatus of Empire*, OUP,

[221] *EF, 1634-36*, pp. 189, 300; *Ibid, 1637-41*, pp. 88,123, 207 & 279.

[222] *EF, 1639-33*, pp,23, 24, 3 , 62, , 71, 103, 75, 104, 117, 154, etc;*EF,1637-41*, pp. 81, 123, 207, 279 etc.

[223] See above. He had been appointed twice.

[224] *EF*, 1618-21, p. 147; *EF, 1622-23*, pp. 160,168.

we have two examples of merchants being appointed as *mutasaddis* of Surat Port. Lahori writes:

"Ali Akbar, as he is a merchant and possesses the required knowledge of judging jewels and horses, and deeming that he would be able to administer the ports efficiently, was granted a robe of honor (*khil'at*) and *mansab* of five hundred, three hundred *sawār* and sent to administer the ports of Surat and Cambay."[226]

This appointment took place in 1646-47, and finds mention in the Factory Records also.[227] They too mention his mercantile background:

"The Governor Mirza Alieckbar, an ancient and very good friend to our nacion whilst hee continued a merchant, but since chainged both in quality and condicion become as very a villain to all in generall as ever officiated that charge..."[228]

Ali Akbar had come to India during the reign of Shahjahan and had initially settled at Cambay, where he had attained his rank.[229] But he could not enjoy his post for long, as in 1648 he was assassinated by a Rajput whose sister he had allegedly ravished.[230]

Mirza Arab too was initially a merchant, but appointed to the office of *mutasaddi* of Surat[231] whose rank unfortunately we do not possess. He was appointed

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[225] A.J. Qaisar in one of his articles 'Recruitment of merchants in the Mughal Feudal Bureaucracy', Indian History Congress, Aligarh Proceedings (unpublished), 1961, cites the name of Khwaja Nizam also. But he was only a *nāib-mutasaddi* (sub-governor) under Muqarrab Khan. See *Letters Received*, II, pp. 150, 239 & 258.

[226] Lahori, *Bādshāhnāma*, Vol.1, pt. i, p. 607; for a similar account see *Mīrāt-i Ahmadi*, I, p.22.

[227] *EF, 1644-50*, pp. 62, 65, 84,185.

[228] *Ibid., 1644- 50*, p. 196.

[229] *Mirat-i Ahmadi*,I ,p.221.

[230] *E F., 1644-50*, p. 196.

[231] Ali Muhammad Khan calls him as 'Mir Arab', *Mīrāt-i Ahmadi*, I, p. 226.

mutasaddi of Surat under Shahjahan for the first time.[232] Then, again, when Aurangzeb ascended the throne he appointed Mirza Arab to that post.[233]

While discussing the number of merchants as *mutasaddis* of Surat, Qaisar holds that Mir Musa and Masihuz Zaman were 'secondary merchants', i.e., those whose wealth implied mercantile activities. But the evidence alone is not, perhaps, ground enough for assuming a mercantile background.

Out of around eighteen *mutasaddis* of Aurangzeb's reign, I could only trace the *mansabs* of four, which seem in each case to be quite high. Muhammad Beg Khan enjoyed a *mansab* of 3000 / 2000[234], that of Kartalab Khan was 900/700 *du aspa sih aspa*;[235] while that of Amanat Khan[236] was 3000 / 4000.[237] The last mentioned officer held the office of the *diwan* of Bijapur, *dafardar-i tan*, and *bayūtāt-i rikāb* in addition to his being the *mutasaddi* of Surat. He had also been twice appointed as *hāris* (commandant) of Aurangabad.[238] Then we get the name of Najabat Khan who was the *mutasaddi* of Surat in 1701. The *Mīrāt-i Ahmadi* gives his *mansab* as 2500 / 1000 *du aspa sih aspa*.[239]

A few interesting examples are also found where the person appointed to the post of *mutasaddi* of Surat had also been the *kotwāl* or *dīwān* of some other place. Thus Sharafuddin Husain who was made *mutasaddi* of Surat in 1664 had been *kotwāl* of Agra before.[240] In 1656 we find Shaikh Mahmud Amin, as *mutasaddi* of Surat, and he had prior to his appointment been posted at Agra as a *diwan*.[241] Another example is

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[232] *EF., 1616-50*, pp. 289, 319; *EF,1651-54*, pp. 28-30, 39, 50, 71, 84, 103, 106, 117.
[233] *EF., 1655-60*, pp. 123 n, 210, 216 and 330.
[234] *Mīrāt-i Ahmadi*, I, p.293; *EF., 1665-67*, p.282.
[235] *Mīrāt-i Ahmadi*, I, pp. 212-13.
[236] *Ibid.*, pp.335 & 342.
[237] It is very rare that the *sawār* rank would exceed the *zāt*
[238] Shah Nawaz Khan, *Ma'āsir ul Umara*, I, pp. 287-90; *Ma'āsir-i.Ālamgīrī*, p. 347
[239] *Mīrāt-i Ahmadi*, I, pp. 347 & 350.
[240] *Dagh Register, 1643-44*, p. 196 quoted in *EF.1655-60*, p. 160.
[241] *EF.,1655-60*, p. 62.

that of Saiyid Muhsin who became the *mutasaddi* of Surat after having held the post of *dīwān* of Gujarat.[242]

These examples suggest that the *mutasaddi* of Surat enjoyed considerable prestige, and show how gradually the port and its administrator gained importance as the port grew and prospered.[243]

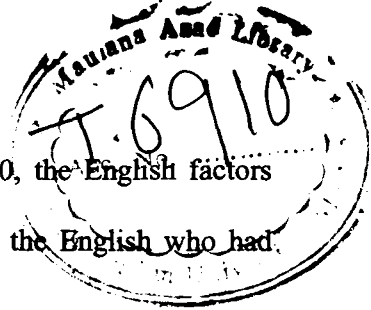
Mostly our sources are silent as to why one *mutasaddi* is being superseded by the other. The English factors supply us a few examples concerning our period. Thus in 1639 when Mir Musa, Muizul Mulk was appointed in place of Hakim Masihuzzaman, the English Factors gleefully write:

> "...We put a period to this business and Hackymes (Masihuz Zaman's) government. For the cry of the oppressed generality arrived to the king's knowledge by Duuans (Diwans) advises. Who differing with the Governor disapproved his cruel courses..."[244]

This assertion of the English Factors is supported by other sources as well. A *farmān* preserved in the Bibliotheque Nationale speaks of the removal of Masih uz Zaman due to reports of oppression (*ta'adi*) of the merchants and revenue payers. The *Farman* further informs that the *dīwān* Mir Sabir was ordered to take the temporary charge till the arrival of the new incumbent, Mir Musa Muizzul Mulk, and sieze the wealth of the merchants that had been unjustly extorted from them by Masih ul Mulk and return it to the merchants concerned.[245] When in 1641 Muizzul Mulk was removed after his first tenure, similar charges were brought forward against him.[246]

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[242] *Mīrāt-i Ahmadi*, I, p. 335 & 699.
[243] The picture would have been clearer if the ranks of all the *mutasaddis* Of Aurangazeb's reign had been known.
[244] *EF.,1637-41*, pp. 109-10
[245] Bib. Nationale Suppl. Persian, *op.cit.*, ff. 54 (a) – 55 (a)
[246] Ibid, *ff.* 50 (a) – (b); *EF.,1637 - 41*, p.207



Then, again, when Muizzul Mulk was ousted, in 1650, the English factors wrote that he had been removed as he had done injustice to the English who had complained against him the Emperor.[247]

At a time when the port was held on *ijāra* (in the 1630's and 1640's) one who had outbid the other, was appointed. This also meant that if somebody was ready to pay more to the court than the present *mutasaddi*, the latter would be ousted by the former. In the case of the removal of Hakim Masihuz Zaman in 1639 this aspect was also high- lighted by the English factors.[248]

Another pretext of removal became available when the subjects in that area complained to the crown. Thus a *mutasaddi*, was removed in 1664 when:

> "The king having received and understood these things, and the inhabitants of Surat having also wrote of these matters, the Governor of Surrat Reaite Chaun (Ri'ayat Khan?), was turned out of that government ...."[249]

The last example of a sudden removal from the post that can be cited is that of Ghiyasuddin Khan who was removed by the instrumentality of Muhammad Amin Khan, the *Sūbahdār* of Gujarat, who had reported against the *mutasaddi* to the Emperor. It so happened that the merchants of Surat under the leadership of Mirza Mu'azzam appealed to the *sūbadār* for redress; and the *mutasaddi* was thereupon removed.[250]

A very interesting document is found in the *Mīrāt ul Haqāiq*, a volume containing the diary of I'timad Ali Khan, son of I'timad Khan who was the *mutasaddi* of Surat till his death in the 39th RY of Aurangzeb. The document is a statement by

[247] *EF.*,1644-50, p. 287
[248] *EF, 1637-41*, p 123 : "...Mier Moza, who having ingaged himself to make good unto this king annually 200,000 m(ahmudi)s more than Messiah Zamah....."; *EF.,1637-41*, p. 207 : "... he (Mir Musa) hath ingaged himself to make good unto the king for this Surratt custom house, vizit 800,000 m(ahmudi)s, three - eighth more than his praedecessor Hackyme Messiahulzaman paid."
[249] *EF.,1661-66*, p.314.
[250] *EF. (new Series) 1670-71*, I, p. 283-84.

the diarist's father Muhammad Muhsin, I'timad Khan, giving autobiographical particulars.[251] Muhammad Muhsin had then been serving as his father's deputy. Subsequently, an interesting development occurred in 47th RY when Amanat Khan, succeeding Najabat Khan as *mutasaddi* of Surat, pleaded with the imperial *Bakhshi* Inayat Khan that in view of the threat from the Europeans (the Dutch), the office of *mutasaddi* should be merged with that of the *faujdār* of Surat. The younger I'timad Khan was then holding the office of *mutasaddi* of Cambay. Upon Inayat Khan's recommendation, the Emperor accepted Amanat Khan's proposal but consoled I'timad Khan by a personal endorsement on the order that the transfer was not due to any fault (*taqsīr*) by him, his *mansab* was also increased.

By and large, then, our information shows that the Mughal Court was generally well aware of the importance of Surat and took special interest in its administration. Generally, a person having some knowledge of trade was appointed to administer it. Thus a port officer during the reign of Shahjahan was directed to purchase merchandise like horses, canopies and curtains from the Portuguese for the imperial court.[252] The *mutasaddi* of Surat was basically a professional, who could sometime directly belong to the emerging 'middle class' in the Mughal Empire. This nexus between the ruling class and the emerging professional class can further be understood if we take into account the fact one of the duties of the *mutasaddi* of the port of Surat was also to 'assist the officials of the imperial ships to obtain cargo'. Thus when an imperial ship was to leave port during the reign of Akbar, the port officer, Muhammad Ma'sum was asked to obtain cargo for it.[253] Similar cases are

[251] Bodleian MS (Oxford) No. 257 (Fraser, 124) Microfilm in Department of History Aligarh Muslim University Aligarh, *ff.*74(b) – 76(b).
[252] *Bib Nationale Suppl Persian, op.cit., ff.*27 (a) – (b)
[253] Bib. Nationale Suppl. Persian, *op.cit., f.* 132 (a)

reported during the reign of Shahjahan when the port officers at Surat were ordered to purchase commodities to supply cargo for the imperial ships like *Ganjāwar*.[254]

[254] *Ibid., ff. 27* (a) – (b), 37 (a) – 38 (a)

[Chapter I. iii]

Biography of a Lower Bureaucrat: Surat Singh

[I. iii] Biography of a Lower Bureaucrat:

Surat Singh

Surat Singh, the author of *Tazkira-tul Shaikh-ul Khadam*,[255] or *Tazkira-i Pir hassu Taili* and his brother Ganga Ram make interesting subject of study as a member of the lower bureaucracy of Mughal India. His work, which is hagiographic accounts of the local saint of the 'oil presser' community of Lahore, Pir Hassu Taili, and his son Shaikh Kamal. It also contains much autobiographical details. Himself a petty revenue official in the Punjab during Shahjahan's reign, the author not only gives us a glimpse of the religious atmosphere prevalent during his time but also provides us with an excellent view of the working and behaviour of the petty officialdom.[256]

Surat Singh was born at Natesar[257] in *pargana* Patti Haibatpur in the Punjab.[258] His father's name was Duni Chand and his grandfather was Jogidas.[259] His family, as most of the people in that town, belonged to the *Kamboj* sept (*firqa*).[260] Ganga Ram was his elder brother.[261]

It was through his brother Ganga Ram that Surat Singh was introduced to Shaikh Kamal, the chief disciple of Pir Hassu Taili.[262] Surat Singh, whose real name was Shān Sarang,[263] was passing through difficult times after his father's death when Ganga Ram pleaded with Shaikh Kamal to enrol the former amongst his disciples.

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[255] *Tazkira-i Pir Hassu Taili*, MS. Research Library, Department of History, AMU, *f. 181 (b)*
[256] *Ibid*, *ff.* 68 (a) – (b), 89 (a) – (b)
[257] 31+, 74+ ; See Irfan Habib, *An Atlas of Mughal Empire- Political and Economic Maps with detailed Note and Bibliography and Index*, OUP, Delhi, 1982, sheets 4A, 4B
[258] Now Patti in Amritsar District.
[259] *Takira-i Pir Hassu Taili*, op.cit., *ff.* 181 (a) – 182 (b)
[260] *Ibid. f.* 181 (b). M.Athar Ali, "Sidelights into Ideological and Religious attitudes in the Punjab during the 17th Century", *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Varanasi, 1969 (also published in *Medieval India- a Miscellany*, vol.II, Aligarh, 1972, pp.187-94) categorizes Kamboj as a Brahmin sect; however W.Crooke in *The Tribes and Castes of North-Western India*, vol.III, p. 120, thinks them to be synonymous to Kamboh. Thus calling them Kshatriya.
[261] *Tazkira-i Pir Hassu Taili*, *f.* 54 (b). Surat Singh uses the term "my brother" for Sadanand as well.
[262] *Ibid.*, *ff.* 120 (a) – (b). See also *ff.*54 (a), 55 (a) – (b) & 118 (b).
[263] *Ibid*, *f.* 181 (b)

The Shaikh accepted him and handed over Surat Singh to 'Abdul Karim as his guide.[264] It was under 'Abdul Karim's guidance that Surat Singh obtained training in the art of versification. We are informed that with him as his tutor, Surat Singh was made to study the works of Yūsufi, Jāmi, Anwarī, and Khāqānī and read such books as *Tuhfat ul Ahrār Subhat-ul Abrār*, various *maktubāt*, *Akhlāq- Nāsirī* and other works in prose and poetry.[265] 'Abdul Karim would make him memorize his lessons, and only when they had been learnt by heart would he allow his pupil to proceed further. Gradually his pupil became inclined towards poetry and asked his tutor what his *nom de plume* should be. 'Abdul Karim thus gave him the title of Surat Singh.[266]

Soon, Surat Singh started composing *qasidas*[267] and became, as he himself claims, quite popular. He boasts that even Shaida, who was one of the better known poets of the age, praised him as a versifier. He further informs us that he even made a mark for himself during a poetical session at Agra where poets like Khwaja Sadiq, Shaida, Munir, Jafari, Dehlawi, Burhanyar, Mir Hashmati, Sozi, Jalali, Talib, Qudsi, Mir Ilahi, Dayal, Chandra Bhan Brahman and the famous Hindu poet Nand Rai were present.[268] Narrating this incident, Surat Singh writes that at the commencement of the *mushaira,*Mir Hashmati asked Shaida to recite the opening verses. The later, Surat Singh boasts, replied that this should be done by our author who 'was known for his *qasidas.* Surat Singh thus inaugurated the session by reciting a *qasida* comprising 150 *baits*. This *qasida* was an eulogy of his Shaikh. Shaida and others, says Surat Singh,

[264] *Ibid,ff.* 120 (a) – (b).
[265] *Ibid.,f.* 120 (a)
[266] *Ibid.,f.* 120 (b)
[267] *Ibid.*
[268] *Ibid.,f.* 86 (b)

praised him a lot.[269] Surat singh also claims to have composed *qasidas* in the praise of the Prophet of Islam and Hazrat 'Ali.[270]

The greatest proof of his versifying acumen for us, however, is his metrical work, the *Tazkira- Pir Hassu Taili*, comprising of 7000 verses, all in the same metre. Surat Singh himself refers to this fact with some pride.[271]

As for his administrative acumen, it seems, he could not gain as much glory. For time and again we find him wandering from lace to place hunting for jobs. It appears that Ganga Ram secured a job much earlier than Surat Singh.

Initially Ganga Ram secured the post of a *waqaya nigar* (news reporter) of the *darbar*.[272] But soon he left his job and headed for Gujarat where he remained posted in some *pargana* for a year. Very soon, on the recommendations of Shaikh Kamal, the *wakīl* (agent) of a certain Sikandar Mu'in took Ganga Ram to Jahangirpur where he worked as *'āmil* for quite some time.[273] During his tenure as the *amil*, Ganga Ram appears to have grown fabulously rich.[274] For some unknown reason, which Surat Singh fails to inform us, Ganga Ram left that job as well and along with our author moved on to Kalanore.[275]

As far as Surat Singh himself is concerned, unfortunately, nothing much is known about his early career, though he tells us in passing that initially he was assigned Kalanore by his *pir* in the 15th RY of Shahjahan (i.e.1640 AD).[276] Whether this assignment was administrative or purely spiritual, it is not clear. However, the first clear reference of his administrative posting is when he describes his adverse

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[269] *Ibid.*, *f.* 87 (a)
[270] *Ibid.f.* 65 (a)
[271] *Ibid.*, *f.* 181 (a)
[272] *Ibid.*, *ff.* 121 (a) – (b)
[273] *Ibid.*, *f.* 122 (a)
[274] *Ibid.*
[275] *Ibid.*
[276] *Ibid.*, *ff.* 148 (a) – (b)

experience as a *karori*.[277] He says that as a *karori*, he collected a large sum of money and deposited it in the state treasury. In his eagerness to be fair, Surat Singh claims that he left nothing in arrears with the revenue-payers (*mālguzārs*) of that place. This strictness, he complains, irked the revenue-payers who levelled a charge of embezzlement against him. As a consequence, he was forced to leave his job and seek shelter with his Shaikh in a village near Batala. But soon an *amīn* of that area helped him and managed to secure for him the office of *amīn* at Lahore.[278] Apparently, this office was not very lucrative, for he laments the consequent paucity of income.

At Lahore too, Surat Singh could not settle down at ease. He keeps on lamenting over the uncertainty of a job and appears wary of the *hākim* of Batala, Todar Mal and hesitant to take the service of the emperor or prince.[279] We find him wandering again along with his brother Ganga Ram. For some time the brothers took up some petty job in a *pargana*. Ultimately we find them settled again: Ganga Ram, quite ironically as a *diwān* of the same Todar Mal, and Surat Singh as the *kārkun* (accountant) at Bhatinda.[280] But the brothers were not destined to remain there for long, for Surat Singh mentions that they now went to Kabul in the service of Saf Shikan Khan, the *hākim* (governor) of Qandahar.[281] Ganga Ram was given the post of *khān-i sāmān* in the *sarkār* of Saf Shikan Khan. Surat Singh himself got the post of *mushrif* of the *khizānā*.[282] Surat Singh, it appears, desperately tried to please his master by reciting *qasīdās* in his praise. But all his sycophantic attempts came to a naught. He explains that untimely floods caused a sharp hike in prices of the food

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[277] *Ibid., f.* 151 (b)
[278] *Ibid., f.* 152 (a). Iqtedar Alam Khan in his *Presidential Address*, Medieval India Section, "the Middle Classes in the Mughal Empire", *PIHC*, Aligarh, 1975, confuses the text when he writes: 'A *pargana amin* helped the author to evade enquiry into his conduct after he had come to be suspected by the *karori* and *malguzar* (*amil*) of having embezzled the revenues'.
[279] *Tazkira-i Pir Hassu Taili, op.cit., f.* 154 (b)
[280] *Ibid., f.* 155 (a)
[281] *Ibid., f.* 162 (a)
[282] *Ibid.*

grains and a *mushrif*, he alleges, made some wrong entries due to which Ganga Ram fell under the suspicion of embezzlement. Surat Singh was deputed to check the records. Unfortunately, as many records and documents were missing, the brothers lost their job.[283]

But this time the brothers' agony was a short one. He says that when 'Aqil Khan came to know of their plight, he summoned them to his *sarkar* and bestowed the office of *khan-i saman* upon Ganga Ram and of *daftar-i taujīh* upon Surat Singh. Surat Singh was further given the charge of buying and selling of foodgrains; and the *k̲harch-i dawwāb* (expenses on horses) was also bestowed upon him.[284] But here again Surat Singh was not destined to live in peace. Soon he and Ganga Ram were embroiled in a scuffle with a petty official in which Ganga Ram suffered dagger wounds.[285]

From this point onwards we do not get any further reference of their assignments. But notwithstanding the fact that Surat Singh is frequently lamenting over uncertainties of jobs and shortage of money, he appears to have lived a comfortable life. When Saf Shikan Khan offered him some money in return for his *qasida* in his praise, Surat Singh declined. Further he tells us that he had bought a house for himself for Rs.700/- : a sizeable amount by the standards of the 17th Century. This house he says was situated in one of the respectable localities of Lahore.[286] He mentions that one of his neighbours here was 'Abdul Karim, who was a scholar of some repute.[287]

His biography throws some light on the attitude of the bureaucratic class towards embezzlement. At one place he tells us how a good *qānūngo* saved an

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283 *Ibid.*, *ff.* 162 (a) – 163 (b)
284 *Ibid.*, *f.* 163 (b)
285 *Ibid.*, *ff.* 164 (a) – (b)
286 *Ibid.*, *f.* 181 (b)
287 *Ibid.*

embezzling but repentant *shiqdār* of a *pargana* near Lahore from the enquiries of an upright *amīn*, by advising him to summon the village papers and replace them by burning the original and inserting a new set and pay back the difference.[288]

The biography of Surat Singh also throws much light on the religious attitude of this class. Here was a person who, although not a Muslim, wrote *qasidas* in the praise of the Prophet of Islam and Hazrat Ali. As has been pointed out Surat Singh's allegiance was to Shaikh Kamal and through him to Hassu Taili.[289] Hassu Taili was born sometime in the 15th Century around AD 1483 / AH 891,[290] at a place called Makhiwal on the banks of river Chenab. His father's name was Shaikh Chandu Taili and his mother was Maili. He had an elder brother, Shaikh Taru, and a sister, Piyari.[291] Belonging to the *Taili* or oilmen's caste[292], Hassu was attracted towards one of the Gorakhnaths, who recognized in him his 61st disciple.[293]

Commenting on the *maslak* (tradition) of Hassu, Shaikh Kamal, we are told, designated it as *malāmatiya*.[294] Apart from his connection with Islamic traditions, Hassu was endowed with a liberal mind. Though a formal Muslim, the saint never followed any of the basic observances and rituals prescribed by Islam. He never prayed in public nor paid *zakat*: for was he not praying all the time? He never had anything stored up, so where was the question of paying the religious tax? In every breath he circumvented the Ka'aba of his heart, so where was the need of the formal

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[288] *Ibid., ff.* 102 (a) – 113 (a)
[289] *Ibid., ff.* 54 (a), 55 (a) – (b), 118 (b), 173 (a) – 174 (b)
[290] This date can be very easily worked out as the age at the time of death along with the year has been mentioned by Surat Singh (*Ibid.,f.* 100 (b)). S.M.Latif in his *Lahore – Its History, Architectural Remains and Antiquity, with an Account of its Modern Institutions, Inhabitants, their Trade, Customs etc.*, Lahore, 1892, pp. 202-3 is definitely wrong when he says that the saint died in 1002 AH / 1593 AD.
[291] *Tazkira-i Pir Hassu Taili*, op.cit., *ff.* 68 (a) – (b), 89 (a) – (b)
[292] Ibbetson, *PunjabCastes*, Lahore, 1916, p.324. *Tailis* were a wholly Muslim caste.
[293] *Tazkira-i Pir Hassu Taili*, op.cit., *ff.* 89 (a) – 90 (b)
[294] *Ibid., f.* 102 (a)

ceremony of Haj.[295] All this was in consonance with what the *Malamatiya* taught: in order to be pious, the observable attributes of piety need not be employed.

Surat Singh was naturally influenced by this philosophy. As a Hindu, he had also imbibed many of the inhibitions of his community. Thus, he would never touch meat and applauds Akbar and Jahangir for prohibiting cow slaughter.[296] He even goes to the extent of claiming that a famine resulted when an Afghan disciple of Hassu served the saint some meat.[297] He is happy when someone feeds Brahmins and gives them money and cows. But, on an intellectual plain, he stands for Hindu-Muslim unity and applauds the Mughal emperors for acts of tolerance.[298]

The saint's training seems to have mellowed him as far as caste restrictions are concerned. He takes pride in telling of the lowly origins of his fellow disciples.[299] Surat Singh's traditional Persian education and Hassu's and Shaikh Kamal's affinity to Islam seems to have had familiarized him to the Islamic tradition. Thus he begins his work with the praise of God, the Prophet and his Companions, as naturally as an orthodox Muslim would.

Surat Singh ascribes to himself many mystical and spiritual experiences. Thus once he informs us that he performed *Haj* and while doing so met the Prophet himself. He says that when he approached the Prophet, he saw Imam 'Ali standing next to him. 'Ali beckoned Surat Singh to come nearer and heard a *qasida* from him. Surat Singh also claims to have met numerous saints like Khwaja Mu'inuddin Chishti, Muhi'uddin (Ibn 'Arabi?), Baba Kapur, Baba Farid Ganj Shakar and many others in heaven.[300]

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[295] *Ibid.*
[296] *Ibid., f.* 36 (b)
[297] *Ibid. ff.* 36 (a) – (b)
[298] *Ibid, f.* 101 (a)
[299] *Ibid., ff.* 173 (a) – 174 (b)
[300] *Ibid., ff.* 65 (a) – 67 (b)

In one other such experience, Surat Singh met Pir Hassu Taili.[301] While performing a well-known mystical ritual, against the advice of his seniors, Surat Singh fell ill and remained bed-ridden for three years. No medicine, he says, would cure him. Ultimately he says, while crossing the Jamuna near Agra, he fell in the river. His spiritual mentor, through a miracle, raised him out of water, and he was cured.[302] He was even given the *wilāyat* (territory where he could enrol disciples) of Batala by Shaikh Kamal due to his spiritual accomplishments.[303]

At the same time, it appears that Surat Singh's elder brother was more religiously inclined as compared to his brother, for he left the comforts of his home to join the Bairagis. He grew a beard and let his hair grow. He even started to wander from jungle to jungle, eating only what was provided by the forests.[304] Surat Singh went looking for him and met him in a jungle. But soon Ganga Ram was fed up with a mendicant's life and returned to the fold of Shaikh Kamal.[305]

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[301] *Ibid., ff.* 78 (b) – 80 (b)
[302] *Ibid., ff.* 85 (b) – 86 (a)
[303] *Ibid., ff.* 148 (a) – (b)
[304] *Ibid., ff.* 122 (b) – 124 (a)
[305] *Ibid., ff.* 124 (a) – 125 (b)

Chapter II

Mercantile Classes: **Merchants, Traders and Shopkeepers**

[II.] Mercantile Classes:

Merchants, Traders and Shopkeepers

The merchant class in the Mughal Empire can, for convenience of investigation, be categorized into three distinct groups, *viz.*, (1) the big merchants and ship owners (*mahājans* and *sāhs*), (2) the smaller and medium commodity merchants or traders (*baniyas*) who frequented the local markets and (3) the petty shopkeepers and hawkers.

Comprising both Hindus and Muslims, this class appears to have been largely dominated by the Hindu and Jain merchants who were collectively known as *baniyas,*[306] the designation not only representing their caste, but also their profession. The predominance of the *baniyas* in the medieval society is succinctly brought out in one of the verses of Kabir (c.1510) wherein he sees God as a *baniya*:

> My Lord is a *baniya*. He conducts his commerce so easily. Without scales and balances, He weighs the entire Universe.[307]

These *baniyas*, largely belonged to the *vaishya* caste. This gave them a distinct social status. While describing the four principal castes, Tavernier says:

> The third caste is that of the Baniyans, who attach themselves to trade, some being Shroffs, i.e., money changers or bankers and others brokers, by whose agency the merchants buy and sell...[308]

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[306] Balkrishna Govind Gokhale. "The Merchant Community in XVIIth Century India", The *Journal of Indian History,* vol. LIV, no.I, April, 1976, p. 118; See also Irfan Habib, "Merchant Communities in Precolonial India", in James D.Tracy (ed.), *The Rise of Merchant Empires: Long Distance Trade in the Early Modern World, 1350-1750,* Cambridge, 1990, pp. 371-99.

[307] *Kabir Granthavali*, ed. Shyam Sundardas, Kashi, VS 2008 (1951), p. 62.

[308] Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, *Travels In India* tr. V. Ball, second edition, ed. William Crooke, vol.II, New Delhi, 1977, pp. 143, 144; also see The Third Part of vol. II, *The Travels of Mr. de Thevenot in India in the Seventeenth Century: Being an Account of the Two Voyages to India by Ovington and*

The term *baniya* has its origins in the Sanskrit word '*vānij*' which means a merchant. In Mughal terminology the word used for the *baniya* is *baqqāl.*[309] Thus describing the origin of the *baniyas*, Abul Fazl writes:

> One caste of the *Bais* [Vaishyas], which is designated *Bānik*, is called *baniya* in ordinary usage and *baqqal* in Arabic....[310]

According to an 18th Century lexicographical work, the Arabic term *baqqāl* meant a *baniya* or 'grain merchant' in India but a 'green grocer' in Iran.[311] Generally speaking the term *baniya*, at least from the 17th Century was an inclusive term incorporating within its ambit all those who cared to be so labelled.[312] By an extention of usage, to the European merchants of the 18th Century, the term '*banian*' denoted all natives who served them as agents or brokers.

It appears that the *baniyas* mainly pursued the business of money-lending and banking, and traded in commodities like grain, *ghee* (clarified butter), spices, jewellery, clothing and grocery.[313] However, they avoided doing commerce in 'polluting substances'.[314] On the other hand, a *baniya* would also manage the

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Thevenot, of which is added the Indian Travels of Careri, ed. J.P. Guha, New Delhi, 1 984, vol.II, pt.iii p.107

309 John Thompson Platts, *A Dictionary of the Urdu, Classical Hindi and English*, London, 1930, *s.v.* 'Baniya', 'Banya'.

310 Abu'l Fazl, *A'in-i Akbari*, ed. H. Blochmann, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1867-77, vol. II, p.57. For the use of the word *baqqāl* for *Baniya*, see also 'Ali Muhammad Khan, *Mirāt-i Ahmadi*, ed. Syed Nawab Ali, Baroda, 1930, Supplement, pp. 132, 138.

311 Tek Chand Bahār, *Bahār-i 'Ajam* (1739-40) (litho.), Lucknow, 1916, p.153, s.v. "*baqqāl*."

312 Cf. Denzil Ibbetson, *Panjab Castes,*Lahore, 1883, (reprint 1916), p. 243; R. V. Russell and Hira Lal, *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces*, (reprint), 1975, vol. II, pp. 112-14.

313 J. Howard M. Jones, 'Jain shopkeepers and money-lenders: rural informed credit network in south Rajasthan', in *The Assembly of Listeners Jains In Society*, ed. Michael Carrithers and Caroline Humphrey, Cambridge, 1991, p. 116. Jones conducted a study on the Jains of South Rajasthan and found that in Chandrapur village alone eight out of the thirteen families are involved in money-lending. See also Russell and Lall, *op.cit.* vol.II, p. 111.

314 Bayly, *Rulers, Townsmen and Bazaars: North Indian Society in the Age of British Expansion 1770-1870*, Cambridge, 1983, p. 368.

household of his master which included engaging and dismissing servants, paying his bills besides sometimes lending him money.[315]

It appears that trade of almost every kind had been the occupation of the *baniyas*, and as compared to any other caste, they have remained loyal to their traditional occupation. As late as 1911 in Central Provinces, 60 percent of the *baniyas* were found to be engaged in trade, whereas only 19 percent of the Brahmins had any religious occupation.[316]

This mercantile class consisted of entrepreneurial sub-castes linked together through a system of organised markets.[317] Thus instead of designating the *baniya* as an occupational term, Russell applied it to caste which had within its folds various sub-castes.[318]

Abul Fazl mentions forty-eight sub-castes of the *baniyas*.[319] This figure finds support from Ali Muhammad Khan who goes on to give the names of as many as eighty four sub-castes of the *baniyas*.[320] Ovington on the other hand mentions that there were only twenty four sub-castes of the *baniyas*.[321] It will be seen that all these figures are largely convention, since they are 24 or multiples thereof.

We are also informed that these sub-castes were "mostly named after places, villages and settlements".[322] Further, it appears that they transcended religious affiliations and included both Hindus and Jains. We have the testimony of the author of *Dabistān-i Mazāhib* who says that "many of the *baniyas* and *bohras* belonged to

[315] Peter Marshall, 'Masters and Baniyans in Eighteenth-Century Calcutta', in *The Age of Partnership*, ed. Blair B. Kling and M N. Pearson, Honolulu, 1979, pp. 192, 193.
[316] Cf. Denzil Ibbetson, *Panjab Castes*, op.cit., p. 243; R. V. Russell and Hira Lal, *Tribes and Castes of the Central* Provinces, op.cit, II, pp. 112-14.
[317] Bayly, *'Rulers, Townsmen and Bazaars*, op.cit., p. 370.
[318] Russell and Lall, *op.cit.*, p. 112.
[319] *A 'in-i Akbari*, op.cit., II, p. 57.
[320] Ali Muhammad Khan, *Mirāt-i Ahmadī*, ed. Syed Nawab Ali, Baroda, 1930, Supplement, pp. 138-39.
[321] Ovington, *A Voyage to Surat in the year 1689*, ed. H.C.Rawlinson, London, 1929, p. 168.
[322] *Mirat-i Ahmadi*, op.cit., Suppl., p. 137.

this (Jain) community" who were into the business of selling grain, while some "lived by service".[323] While enumerating the sub-castes of the *baqqāls* (*baniyas*), Ali Muhammad Khan mentions the "*Saravag baqqāls*" and others, who were Jains, and the *Maishri baqqāls* who were Vaishnavites, both of whom were sub-divided into eighty four sub-castes respectively.[324] As late as the late 18th Century, we have the testimony of Malcolm that the Jains dominated the *baniya* community at least in the Malwa region:

> The Soucars (*sāhūkārs*), Shroffs (*sarrāfs*) and Bunnians (*baniyas*) in Malwa are either of the Jain or Vishnu faith, but by far the greatest numbers are the former, and their prevailing influence and wealth attracts many converts. Almost all the Vaisya and Sudra agents and servants they employ, if not before Jains, conform to the tenets of that sect.[325]

It is also interesting to note, as Irfan Habib points out, that the sub-castes of the *baniyas* were defined by endogamy and restrictions on dining with members of different sub-castes.[326] We have the testimony of Ovington that these sub-castes refrained 'from an indiscriminate mixture in marriages, and from eating together in common'.[327]

As far as the non-Hindu merchant communities in Medieval India are concerned, we have numerous references to Armenians as well as Muslim merchants. According to Manucci, the Pathans, although for a greater part they served as soldiers, also pursued commerce. He even says that they resorted 'to no other occupation' than

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[323] Anonymous, *Dabistān-i Mazāhib*, Bombay (ed.), AH 1292, p. 166.
[324] *Mirāt-i Ahmadi*, op.cit., pp. 136 – 37, 139 – 40; See also Russell & Lal, *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces*, II, p. 120.
[325] John Malcolm, *Memoirs of Central India*, London, 1824, 2nd ed., II, p. 160
[326] Irfan Habib, "Merchant Communities in Pre-Colonial India", *op.cit.*
[327] J.Ovington, *op.cit.*, p. 168.

these two.[328] Being 'avaricious of nature', he explains, 'they put by money and grow into merchants'.[329] In spite of the fact that Manucci is very specific when he says that in Gujarat 'all these merchants are Hindu by religion',[330] there is much information regarding the activities of Muslim merchants in Gujarat, especially at Ahmadabad, Surat and Cambay.[331] Fryer, while mentioning the Muslim merchants comments on their extravagant and ostentatious style of living as compared to the frugal attitude of the Hindu *baniyas*. He further mentions that these Muslim merchants were "buoy'd up more by the Authority of their Religion and Cast, than Cunning, the *Banyan* being forced to flee to them for patronage..."[332]

This mercantile class which controlled the commerce in Mughal India were the natural link between the producers and consumers.[333]

Depending on their professional specialization, the merchant class comprising the small and medium traders in the Mughal Empire can be further divided into three distinct categories, *viz.* (1) the brokers, (2) money-lenders or money-changers and (3) the commodity merchants.

The brokers were the 'middle men' who directed "the purchaser to the merchandise and the seller to the price".[334] To these brokers the term *dallāl* was generally applied. Sometimes even the European factors and travellers have used this

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[328] Manucci, II, p. 425
[329] *Ibid.*, II, p. 426
[330] *Ibid.*, II, pp. 399-400
[331] Itimad Ali Khan, *Mirāt ul Haqāiq*, Bodlein Library, Oxford, MS.Fraser 125, *ff.* 235 (a) – 37 (a); Surat Documents, MS. Blochet, Supp. Pers. 482; Cambay Documents, NAI 2695/ 1-44; NAI 2702 / 1-14; See also S.A.N.Rezavi, "Civil Laws and Justice in Mughal Gujarat", *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Mysore, 1993; Shireen Moosvi, "Travails of a Mercantile Community – Aspects of Social Life at the Port of Surat", *PIHC*, Delhi, 1992; Ruquiya Kazim Husain, "Persian and Armenian Merchants in the Surat-Persian Gulf Trade in the 17th Century", presented in the medieval India section of the Indian History Congress, Delhi, 1992.
[332] John Fryer, *A New Account of East India and Persia in Eight Letters Being Nine Years Travels Begun 1672 and Finished 1681*, Delhi (reprint), 1985, p.196
[333] Indrani Ray, "Of Trade and Traders in Seventeenth Century India: Unpublished French Memoir by George Roques", *Indian Historical Review*, vol.IX, nos. 1 & 2, July, 1982-83, p.83.
[334] E.W.Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, Edinburgh, 1867, Book I, part 3, *s.v. 'dallal'*, cf. A. Jan Qaisar, "The Role of Brokers in Medieval India", *Indian Historical Review*, New Delhi, 1974, vol.I, no. 2, pp. 220-46.

term to connote the brokers.[335] The *dallāls* who exclusively dealt in animals, especially horses, were known as *jallāb*.[336]

From *A'in-i Akbari* it appears that a *dallāl* was appointed in each quarter (*muhalla*) of the town to supervise the selling and buying in the local market.[337] No transaction could take place without his knowledge.[338] It also appears that the Mughal government appointment a 'town broker' for market transactions.[339] It further seems that these *dallāls* were also an essential part of the commercial establishments of the foreign merchants, who depended on their services for their business transactions. Thus Ovington writing in early 1690's says:

> For the Buying and more advantageous disposing of the Company's goods, there are Brokers appointed, who are of the Bannian Caste, skilled in the Rates and value of all the commodities in India.[340]

These "idolator" (i.e. non-Muslim Hindu and Jain) *baniyas* were universally preferred as *dallāls* by the European factors as well as the Mughal nobles. Tavernier advises his compatriots to select a broker "who should be a native of the country, an idolator and not a Musalman, because all the workmen with whom he will have to do are idolators".[341] Thevenot too states that "everyone hath his Baniyan in the Indies" as a broker. He also states that some of these brokers grew into the richest merchants in

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[335] See for example Varthema, *Travels of Varthema*, ed.Badger, Hakluyt Society, p.169; Streynsham Master, *The Diaries of Streynsham Master, 1675-80 And Other Contemporary Papers Relating Thereto*, ed. Sir R.C.Temple, London, 1911, vol.II, pp.14-15.
[336] *Bahār-i Ajam*, op.cit., *s.v. jallāb, jallāb-band, jallābi*; See also Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*, ed. Molvi 'Abdur Rahim, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1887, vol.III, p.*378*
[337] *A'in-i Akbari*, op.cit., I, p.284.
[338] *Mirāt-i Ahmadi*, op.cit., I, p.169.
[339] *English Factories in India, A Calender of Documents in the India office, British Museum and Public Record office* (henceforth EFI), Oxford, (1906-27), 1642-45, p. 301.
[340] J.Ovington, *op.cit.*, p.233.
[341] Tavernier, *op.cit.*, pp. 30-31, 144. See also Pelsaert, *Remonstratie or Jahangir's India*, tr. Moreland & Geyl, Delhi, (reprint), 1972, p.78.

India.[342] We have the testimony of Pelsaert that the 'Hindu' *baniyas* also acted as brokers to all the Muslim merchants as well.[343]

The reasons for preferring the *baniyas* as *dallāls* are not far to seek. Writing in 1674 Fryer explains that these *baniya dallāls* were:

> ...expert in all the studied arts of Thriving and Insinuation; so that, Lying, Dissembling, Cheating, are their Masterpiece: Their whole desire is to have Money pass through their fingers, to which a great part is sure to stick: For they well understand the constant turning of Cash amounts both to the Credit and Profit of him that is so occupied; which these *Banyans* are sensible of, otherwise they would not be so industrious to enslave themselves.[344]

The importance of the brokers in the trade in Mughal India is succinctly brought out by the account of Caesar Fredericke, the Merchant of Venice, who was at Cambay in 1563. He speaks of the 'Brokers which are Gentiles' who are men of 'great authority' having under them fifteen or twenty servants. Whenever a fleet of small ships entered the port of Cambay, the brokers assembled on the waterfront and the merchants embarking from the ship handed over their goods to one of them.[345] The appointed broker after receiving the cargo, commanded his servants to carry the goods on carts to town where, Fredericke says:

> ...the Brokers have divers empty houses meet [proper] for the lodging of Marchants, furnished onely with bedsteds, tables, chaires and empty jarres for

[342] Thevenot, *op.cit.*, p.78; For the all pervasive institution of conducting business through brokers who were predominantly *baniyas* in North India see also K.N.Chaudhuri, *The Trading World of Asia and the English East India Company, 1660-1760*, Cambridge, 1978, p.307.
[343] Pelsaert, *op.cit.*, p.78; For Hindu brokers of Muslim merchants, Mulla Abdul Ghafur and Muhammad Ali, see Ashin Das Gupta, *Indian Merchants and the Decline of Surat, c.1700-1750*, Wiesbaden, 1979, p.84.
[344] Fryer, *op.cit.*, p.83.
[345] "The Voyage and Travell of M.Caesar Fredericke, Merchant of Venice, into East India and beyond the Indies", contained in Richard Hakluyt (ed.), *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation – Made by Sea or Land to the Remote & Farthest Quarters of the Earth at any Time within the Compasse of these 1600 Years*, London, n.d., vol.III, p.206.

> water: then the Broker sayth to the Marchant, Goe and repose your selfe and take rest in the city...[346]

The broker cleared the merchants' cargo and after paying the requisite customs duly transported it to the merchant's lodging. If the merchant concerned then wished to sell off his goods, the broker did so immediately.[347] The stranglehold of the broker over the merchant was however such that:

> ...and when as the Marchant thinketh that he cannot sell his goods at the price currant, he may tary as long as he will, but they cannot be solde by any man but by that Broker that hath taken them on land and payed the custome...[348]

According to Tavernier it was the 'custom throughout Asia that nothing is sold except in the presence of a broker, and each class of goods has its own separate one'.[349] Almost a similar impression regarding the monopolistic attitude of the *baniyas* and brokers is created by Fryer. He remarks:

> ... such is their policy that without these, neither you nor the Natives themselves shall do any Business, though they are worse Brokers than Jews...[350]

Fryer equates the *baniyas* with pests and complains:

> To this place belong two sorts of Vermin, the Fleas and *Banyans*: the one harbouring in the Sand... The other Vermin are the *Banyans* themselves, that hang like Horse-leeches, till they have suck'd both *sanguinem & succum* (I mean money) from you: As soon as you have set your Foot on Shore, they crowd in their service, interposing between you and all Civil Respect, as if you

[346] *Ibid.*, p. 207
[347] *Ibid.*; For the brokers visiting the ships and buying the goods see also Niccolao Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, tr. With Introdn & notes by W.Irvine, Calcutta, (reprint), 1966-67, vol.I, p.60.
[348] 'Voyage & Travell of M.Caesar Frederick', *op.cit.*, p. 207.
[349] Tavernier, *op.cit.*, I, pp. 155-56.
[350] Fryer, *op.cit.*, p.83.

> had no other Business but to be gull'd; so that unless you have some to make your way through them, they will interrupt your going, and never leave till they have drawn out something for their advantage...[351]

The foreign merchants' dependence on the brokers was probably partly due to language constraints. Thus Fryer in 1674-75 writes on the deceitful means of the brokers at Surat:

> It would be too mean to descend to indirect ways, which are chiefly managed by the *Banyans*, the fittest Tools for any deceitful Undertaking; out of whom are made Broakers for the Company, and Private Persons, who are allowed Two per cent on all Bargains, besides what they squeeze secretly out of the price of things bought; which cannot be well understood for want of knowledge in their language; which Ignorance is safer, than to hazard being poisoned for prying too nearly into their Actions: Though the Company, to encourage Young men in their Service, maintain a Master to learn them to Write and Read the Language, and an annuity to be annexed when they gain perfection therein, which few attempt, and fewer attain.[352]

Generally it appears that in spite of all the negative aspersions and fraudulent practices attributed to them, these brokers were quite faithful to the merchants whom they served. Thus we have the testimony of Benjamin Robinson at Surat who wrote to the Company on 26th December 1638 that "commonly when they are solely entrusted with such a busines [of buying and supplying merchandise of good quality] they are not unfaithfull".[353] In case of a fraud they were liable to be punished. However, in the punishment care was to be taken not to be too harsh to frighten them away or gain

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[351] *Ibid.*, p.82
[352] *Ibid.*, p. 85.
[353] *EFI, 1637-41*, p.91

their enmity. Thus president of the English Company at Surat, Methwold, advised the factors at Ahmadabad in 1638:

> ...only take care that you fall not too heavy upon theire persons in corporall punishment, we meane chawbucking [*chābuk*, a whip, i.e., whipping] them, least, being guilty and in that respect desperate persons, they may consent to loose themselves that you may find trouble; in which particular wee doe rather approve that you should deliver them over unto the Mahumetan power; but therein also wee would not have you to bee too forward, since wee know that nothing will bee taken from them in that way which will bee returned for our satisfaction...[354]

It is interesting to note that this advice for moderation in punishment of a broker caught in fraudulent practice is followed by a censure of the factors at Ahmadabad who apparently did not heed the advice and imprisoned the errant broker for three days 'without rice or water'.[355]

The brokers in the European companies during the 17th Century were entitled to anything ranging from 1% to 3% of the total transaction. Thus in 1636 we hear of a broker being paid 1% for his endeavours at Baroda.[356] According to Fryer, in 1670's the brokers were "allowed Two percent on all Bargains, besides what they squeeze secretly out of the price of things bought."[357] Besides the commission (*dastūr*), the *dallāls* would also make further demands on the European factors under whom they served. Streynsham Master tells us that in December 1679 Hari Charan, the 'house Baniyan' at

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[354] *EFI, 1634-36*, pp. 171-72
[355] *Ibid.*, p.182
[356] *EFI, 1634-36*, pp.264-65
[357] Fryer, *op.cit.*, p.85; Tavernier mentions that 'there are certain classes of goods for which the fee due to them is 1 percent, others for which it amounts to 1½ and even up to 2 per cent. (Tavernier, *op.cit.*,I, p.156).

Balasore demanded Rs.25/- per mensem as wages besides the 'dustoore' of 'one anna upon Rs. 100/- , that is Rs.1-9 annas per cent'. This broker was finally allowed "2/3 parts" of the claimed *dastur*.[358] In 1690's the share of brokers appear to have risen to 3% of the total transaction.[359] In larger transactions the earnings of the brokers, however could go as high as 10 to 10½ per cent.[360]

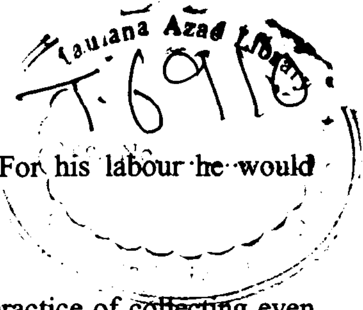
Like the *dallāls*, the profession of the *sarrāfs* (money-changers / bankers) was also mostly held by the *baniyas*. The omnipresence of this specialized class is also commented upon by our sources. To quote Tavernier:

> In India a village must be very small indeed if it has not a money-changer, called a Shroff, who acts as a banker to make remittances of money and issue letters of exchange.[361]

No payment could be made or received unless the *sarrāf* was shown the money to assess its purity. Essentially, the work of the *sarrāf* was to test and change money. A coin had to be expertly examined for its genuineness or metallic purity, age and weight.[362] The reason was that a silver coin by wear and tear could lose some weight and consequently become lighter.[363] Thus if an amount was deposited with a *sarrāf* in new silver coin but payment was made in old coin, high profit was earned by the *sarrāf* due to difference in the weight of old and new silver coins.[364] The *sarrāfs*

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[358] Streynsham Master, *op.cit.*, II, p.359.
[359] Ovington, *op.cit.*, p.233.
[360] *EFI, 1661-64*, pp. 166-89; *EFI, 1665-67*, p.263; *EFI, 1668-69*, pp.7-8. For further details see A.Jan Qaisar, "The Role of Brokers in Medieval India", *op.cit.*
[361] Tavernier, *op.cit.*, I, p.24.
[362] For details on *sarrāfs* see Irfan Habib, "Merchant Communities in Pre-Colonial India", *op.cit.*
[363] Tavernier, *op.cit.*, I, p.24
[364] *Ibid.*, I, p.28. Tavernier sold some goods to Shaistah Khan and was issued a letter of exchange drawn on Aurangabad. At Aurangabad he was paid in old coins, thus losing two per cent. After much argument Tavernier had to satisfy himself with a loss of 1%.



also earned much profit from assaying gold and silver. For his labour he would receive a 'commission of $^{1}/_{16}{}^{th}$ of a rupee per cent'.[365]

The parsimonious nature of the *sarrāfs,* and their practice of collecting even the gold-dust from their assays is commented upon by Tavernier:

> ...of all the gold which remains on the touchstone after an assay has been made, and of which were here make no account, far from so small a think to be lost, they collect it with the aid of a ball, made half of black pitch, and half of wax, with which they rub the stone which carries the gold, and at the end of some years they burn the ball and so obtain the gold which it had accumulated. The ball is about the size of our tennis-court balls, and the stone is like those which our goldsmiths commonly use.[366]

Commenting on the expertise of the *sarrāfs*, Tavernier at one place comments:

All the Jews who occupy themselves with money and exchange in the empire of the Grand Seigneur pass for being very sharp, but in India they would scarcely be apprentices to these changers...[367]

> This comment of Tavernier finds support from an incident reported by Banarsi Das in his autobiography, *Ardhakathanak*, which incidentally also contains much information regarding the *sarrāfs* and the commodity merchants in the Mughal Empire.[368] Banarsi Das was himself a jeweller and commodity merchant who saw the reigns of Akbar, Jahangir and Shahjahan. During his

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[365] *Ibid.*, p.25
[366] *Ibid.*, I, pp. 29-30. For this practice of collecting the sweepings of gold-smiths' shop by workmen called *Niyariya* (i.e., Separators), see Crooke, *Tribes and Castes of North Western Provinces & Oudh*, Calcutta, 1896, IV, p.91n.
[367] Tavernier, *op.cit.*, I, p. 24
[368] Banarsi Das, *Ardhakathanak*,(ed. Nathuram Premi, Bombay,1957), annotated & translated by Mukund Lath (*Ardhakathanak: Half a Tale, A Study in the Interrelationship between Autobiography and History*, Jaipur, 1981. For a variant translation see also RC Sharma, "The *Ardhakathanak*: A neglected Source of Mughal History", *Indica*, Bombay, no.7, 1970. For a detailed discussion on the information contained in *Ardhakathanak* on the merchants and their activities, see Kalpana Malik, *"Profit and Partnership in Ardhakathanak: An Insight into the Social World of a North Indian Merchant"*, M.Phil.Dissertation, Department of History, University of Delhi, 2002.

journey from Jaunpur to Agra in 1616 he was accompanied by a moneylender of the Maheshwari clan and two Brahmins of Mathura. When the party arrived at a place identified as Korara near Ghatampur, they halted in a local *sarai*. The two Brahmins, we are informed, visited the house of an Ahir prostitute. One of the said Brahmins went to a 'silver merchant's shop' (*hāt*) and exchanged a rupee for small coins of which he bought plenty of food and confectioner's delicacies (*sāj*) for the woman. The next day the *sarrāf* with whom the Brahmin had exchanged his rupee came and charged him of having given him counterfeit money (*gaisāl hai badli dai*). The Brahmin denied the charge. In the ensuing tussle the money changer took twenty five more rupees from the folds of the Brahmins *dhoti* all the while claiming that all this money was counterfeit. Banarsi Das then says that it was a trick applied by the *sarrāf* to extort money: feigning to go to the *kotwāl* with the counterfeit currency, the merchant went to his own house and changed it. It was after much trouble and some luck that the Brahmin and others could escape from the clutches of the local officials.[369]

In the towns, the *baniyas* could also be found hawking cloth, cowries, and even salt. Ovington describes how near the marketplace at Surat "tis not very easie to pass through the multitude of *Bannians* and other Merchants that expose their Goods. For here they stand with their Silks and Stuffs in their Hands, or upon their Heads, to invite such as pass by to come and buy them."[370] More characteristic, however, was the *baniya* shopkeeper, commonly selling rice and ghee (Indian butter) to a poor clientele, who often had to ask for credit and expected harsh conditions in return.[371]

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[369] *Ardhakathanak*, (text) Mukund Lath, *op.cit.*, verses 502 – 545.
[370] Ovington, *op.cit.*, *p.* 130
[371] See the story of Kabir, his wife, and the Baqq'al shopkeeper "in their lane" at Banaras, in *Dabistan-i Mazahib*, 160.Cf. Irfan Habib, "Merchant Communities in Pre-Colonial India", *op.cit.*

Such shops in a large city like Delhi vastly outnumbered shops selling the finer commodities, though Banyas must have been prominent in keeping shops of the latter kind as well. Bernier (1663) speaks of shops at Delhi "where nothing is seen but pots of oil or butter, piles of baskets filled with rice, barley, chick-peas, wheat and an endless variety of other grain and pulse." These outnumbered the shops selling fine cloth and silk and other fine stuffs by twenty-five to one.[372] *Ardhakathānaka* gives many instances of the merchants' shops in various cities like Jaunpur, Fatehpur and Agra. In 1576, Kharagsen is said to have opened a shop (*hāt*) in Jaunpur.[373] Similarly during one of his trips to Agra, Banarsi Das took his merchandise to the *hāt* (shop or was it a firm?) of his father-in-law situated in Katla (Katra) Parvez.[374] At another occasion he mentions a business ware-house (*kothi*) where he left behind his merchandise comprising of bales of cloth, oil and *ghee* before proceeding to his brother-in-law's house in Agra, which he says was situated in '*katla Moti*' (Katra Moti).[375] Apart from the *Katra* (an enclosed market), Banarsi Das also mentions the whole-sale markets (*mandi*) and the cattle market (*nakhhās*).[376] These markets were held twice a day, early in the morning and 'a little before' sunset.[377]

Shopkeepers are naturally to be distinguished from merchants proper. They were the peddlers who would carry on their business on a petty scale.[378] Pelsaert, although labelling them 'nominally free', compares their status to workmen, peons

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[372] Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire,* trans. A. Constable, ed. V. A. Smith, London, 1916, pp. 248-9.
[373] *Ardhakathanka,* verse 74
[374] *Ibid.,* verse 389.
[375] *Ibid.,* verses 309 – 310.
[376] *Ibid.,* verses 31, 314, 390, 571.
[377] Edward Terry, *A Voyage to East India, 1616 – 19,* London, 1777, p.34.
[378] Tapan Raychaudhuri, *Cambridge Economic History of India,* I, 341-2. Cf. Niels Steensgaard, *The Asian Trade Revolution of the Seventeenth Century,* Chicago, 1974, 22ff.

and servants. He says that their status differed very little from 'voluntary slavery'.[379] He further mentions:

> Whatever he [the shopkeeper] may deal in – spices, drugs, fruit, cotton goods, cloth, or anything else – the shopkeeper is held in greater respect than the workman, and some of them are even well-to-do; but they must not let the fact be seen, or they will be the victims of a trumped-up charge, and whatever they have will be confiscated in legal form, because informers swarm like flies round the governors, and make no difference between friends and enemies, perjuring themselves when necessary in order to remain in favour. Further, they are subject to a rule that if the King's nobles, or governors, should require any of their goods, they must sell for very little – less than half price; for to begin with, they must give great weight for small coins, the difference being 20 per cent; then 9 per cent is deducted for *dastūri* [commission]; then clerks, overseers, cashiers and others all know very well how to get their share; so that in such circumstances the unfortunate shopkeeper may be robbed in a single hour of the profits of a whole month, although they bear the general cost.[380]

The contention of Pelsaert regarding the plight of the shopkeepers is highlighted by Manucci in the case of large suppliers as well. He mentions the case of a grocer who supplied herbs and vegetables to the household of Jāfar Khan during the latter's journey to Kashmir. The grocer submitted the account of the supplied goods to the treasurer of the Khan who allegedly found the amount 'enormous' and deducted a sum of "eighty thousand rupees" (!) from the total amount due. It was only when the

[379] Pelsaert, *op.cit.*, p.60.
[380] *Ibid.*, p.63

grocer appealed directly to the Nawab that he was able to get his money released.[381] The shopkeepers appear to have been further afflicted by the marauding thieves who infested the markets. Thus Manucci mentions that in Goa the shopkeepers selling commodities like garlic, pepper, butter were not only constrained to close shop around sunset but also put up cages around their shops so that they or their goods may not be directly exposed to thieves.[382]

The expertise of the *baniyas,* appear to have been a result of the early training and education. This is reflected in their outlook towards education of their children. Not much emphasis was put on formal education; instead practical training was preferred. In fact, the attitude of the entire community towards excessive academic pursuits was something bordering on scorn: Banarasidas, a Jain merchant, was advised by his elders:

> Pay attention to what the old and the experienced have to say...Give up your foolish pursuit of learning. Too much learning is for a Brahman (*bāman*) and *Bhāt* (bard). The son of a *baniya* should sit at the shop (*hāt*). Those who are too studious have to beg (*bahut padhai so māngai bhīk*). Remember son this saying of the elders.[383]

Thus the main emphasis amongst the members of this class was on training in business techniques, arithmetic and accountancy which was imparted from childhood. These were the pillars of their business management.[384] Tavernier informing us of this attitude remarks:

> ...they accustom their children at an early age to shun slothfulness, and instead of letting them go into the streets to loose their time at play, as we generally

[381] Manucci, *op.cit.,* III, p.396.
[382] *Ibid.,* III, p.155
[383] *Ibid,* verses 199 - 200.
[384] cf. *Ardhakathanak,* op.cit., pp. 6-7.

> allow ours teach them arithmetic, which they learn perfectly, using for it neither pen nor counters, but the memory alone, so that in a moment they will do a sum, however difficult it may be. They are always with their fathers, who instruct them in trade, and do nothing without at the same time explaining it to them...[385]

Roques, too, echoes the same view when he writes:

> ...They work hard at arithmetic and are very good at calculation. It is their only patrimony from home, for the father gives nothing to his son... [386]

Similar is the statement of Ovington who also writes that:

> ...the Bannian, by the strength of his brain only, will sum up his accounts with equal exactness, and quicker dispatch, than the readiest arithmetician can with his pen.[387]

Banarsi Das's father, Kharagsen was sent to school (*chatsāl / chaksāl*) at the age of eight where he learned to read and write. He also acquired the art of testing precious metals such as gold and silver for impurities (*parkhai rajat taka sovann*). He soon became skilful in distinguishing good coins from the bad and proficient in preparing accounts for the family business of money lending, properly noting all the details of a transaction (*lena dena bidhisau likhai*) and began to frequent the market-place regularly and was soon initiated into the trade of money-lending(*baithey hāt*

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[385] Tavernier, *op.cit*, II, reprint, Delhi, 1977, pp.143-144.
[386] Indrani Ray, 'Of Trade and Traders in Seventeenth Century India: An Unpublished French Memoir by Georges Roques', in *The Indian Historical Review*, IX, Nos.1-2, New Delhi, 1982-3, p84; Also see Manucci, *op.cit.*, I, pp.152,156.
[387] Ovington, *op.cit.*, p.124; For the method by which children of the *baniya* or mercantile castes are trained in mental arithmetic, see Russel, *Tribes & Castes,* op.cit., II, p.128. See also J.H. Grose (*A Voyage to the East Indies*, 1757, p.238): "The Gentoo merchants too use the same method with their children, initiating them, with the first dawn of their reason, into all the mysteries of their trade and contracts, insomuch that it is not uncommon to see boys of ten or twelve years of age so acute and expert that it would not be easy to over-reach them in a bargain".

sarāfi sikhai). This training continued for a period of four years (i.e. till the age of twelve).[388]

Banarsi Das himself joined school at the age of eight. He says he was sent to a school run by a Brahmin pedagogue. Within a year he says he became proficient in reading and writing and 'more schooling was not needed'.[389]

We do not know what apart from account keeping might have been taught at such *chatsāls* (preparatory schools) in which the children of these *baniya* class were admitted. But Banarsi Das's grandfather Muldas was well educated having studied both Hindi and Persian (*hindugī- pārsi*) and he might well have been taught some Persian at the school.[390] Banarsi Das himself through out his autobiography uses a number of Persian terms which he might have picked up during his one year sojourn in school.

Tavernier in a long passage deals with the training imparted to the children of the diamond merchants whom he encountered in the mines at Rammalakota near Bijapur:

> It is very pleasant to see the young children of these merchants and other people of the country, from the age of ten years up to the age of fifteen or sixteen, assemble every morning under a tree which is in the town square. Each has his diamond weights in a little bag suspended on one side, and on the other a purse attached to his waistband, which contains as much as 500 or 600 gold pagodas. They seat themselves there awaiting the arrival of anyone who wishes to sell diamonds, either brought from this or some other mine. When anyone brings a stone he places it in the hands of the *eldest of the children, who is, so to speak, the chief of the band*; he looks at it and passes it on him

[388] *Ardhakathanak*, op.cit., verses 46-47
[389] *Ibid., verses* 98 - 99
[390] *Ibid.*, verse 13

who sits next. Thus it goes hand to hand till it returns to the first one without anyone saying a word.

He then asks the price of the specimen, wishing to purchase, if possible; and if by chance he buys at too high a price he is responsible. In the evening these children count up what they have purchased, and after examining the stones separate them according to their water, weight, and cleanliness. Next they price each as they expect to dispose of them to strangers, and by this they see how far the value exceeds the cost of purchase. They then carry them to the great merchants who always have a number of parcels to match, and *all the profit is divided among the children, save only that their chief receives a quarter per cent more than the others*. Young as they are, they know the value of all the stones so well that if one of them has bought a stone and is willing to lose a half per cent, another gives him cash for it. You can seldom show them a parcel of a dozen stones, among which they will not discover four or five with some flaw, point, or defect at the angles.[391]

Thus in the case of Banarsi Das as well we find that soon on completing school in 1595, at the age of nine years he became a small merchant, by selling cowry-shells and earning some money (*kori bech banij tin gahyo*).[392] When he presented his first earnings to his grand mother, he says that she performed the ritual of thanksgiving by felicitating the family deity Sati Aut and distributed sweetmeats.[393] The *Baniya* usually appears as an individual merchant, broker, or banker, but the family (the Hindu joint family of modern law) often acted as a firm, with joint investments and profits. Tavernier, speaking of the brokers, gives a lively description of the family firm:

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[391] Tavernier, *op.cit.*, II, pp.48-49
[392] *Ardhakathanka*, op.cit., verse 134
[393] *Ibid.*, verse 136

These brokers are commonly, as it were, chiefs of their families, for whom they hold all the joint property in trust to turn it to account. For that reason those qualified by years and experience are selected so that they may be able to secure benefit to all the kinsmen, being both the depositories and guardians of their goods. Every evening, when they return from business... the oldest of the kinsmen assemble at the house of the broker, who renders an account of what he has done during the day, and they hold counsel together as to what should be done in the future. He is especially exhorted to take care of their business, and if possible to defraud rather than be defrauded.[394]

When in 1556 Muldas, the grandfather of Banarsi Das died, Kharagsen (the father of Banarsi Das) along with his mother found shelter with one of his senior relatives, Madan Singh Srimal, a jeweller at Jaunpur. It was he who now looked after the business interests of the family.[395]

Partnerships (*shirkat*) within the family could also be formed to carry on business. Thus we have the example of Khargsen entering into a business partnership with his paternal uncle Sundar Das who was a *sarrāf* dealing with gold.[396] Kharagsen also invested some money in this family partnership.[397] The partnership appears to have been fruitful for it was during the years of this partnership that Kharagsen not only got married but also bought a house.[398] When the partnership finally ended after the death of Sundar Das, the dissolution of the partnership could easily be settled between Kharagsen and the heirs of Sundar Das on the basis of 'written accounts'.[399]

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[394] Tavernier, *op.cit.*,I, p.24
[395] *Ardhakathanak*, verses 39 – 45.
[396] *Ibid.*, verse 67.
[397] *Ibid.*, verse 68
[398] *Ibid.*, verse 70
[399] *Ibid.*, verse 72

Partnerships were also formed outside the kinship circles. Thus we have the reference to Kharagsen entering into a partnership with Ramdas a *baniya* belonging to the Agarwal sub-caste.[400] Similarly Banarsi Das entered into a partnership (*sirkao*) twice, once with Dharamdas, a member of the Oswal clan of Delhi. This partnership continued for almost two years.[401] The terms of this partnership founded in 1611 are described in some detail. Dharamdas, an Oswal, was put in partnership with Banarasidas by his father and uncle, who were rich dealers in jewels (a family firm?). They advanced the partners Rs. 500 as capital (*punji*). The two partners used it to go around Agra and buy and sell jewels, keeping a daily accounts book (*likhi rojnama khatiai*).[402] After two years, Banarasidas wished to end the partnership. All the goods held under the partnership were then sold, and the capital of Rs. 500 was returned to Dharamdas's father. Banarasidas had hoped to make a profit had the goods fetched more than this sum; but that was not to be. When in 1616 he terminated his partnership with Narottamdas at Jaunpur, all the assets were divided (equally?) between the two partners, the statement of settlement being made in two copies, one to be kept by each.[403]

There were instances also of collaboration between the *baniya* merchants and the Muslim merchants. The Hindu and Muslim merchants of Surat not only did business with one another, but jointly owned cargo as well as cargo-loading boats. In 1643, when the imperial ship *Ganjāwar* was being loaded to sail for Jedda, it carried the cargo of both Hindu and Muslim merchants, as is shown by documents of 1643 contained in an early 18th Century diary:

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[400] *Ibid.*, verse 74, 76
[401] *Ibid.*, verses 353 – 358.
[402] *Ibid.*, verse 356
[403] *Ibid.*, verse 363

Dastak to *Upari* [officer] of *Ganjawar*, 1643

"One *jaliha* of Abdul Wahab and Manikji according to the regulation of Malikh(?) has been dispatched for (loading) aboard the auspicious ship. Let it be accepted (and loaded). Dated 24 Ziqad, 1052 [= 13 Feb. 1643]."[404]

Dustak to *Upari* of the ship *Ganjawar*, 1643

"One *tauri* with cargo belonging to Hari Dar, Donki, Haniya, Dabash, Aziz Beg and Mulla Jalal has been loaded and dispatched. It should be checked with record and loaded aboard the ship. Dated Zilhij, 1052, R.Y. 16 [= March 1643]."[405]

In December 1722 Ahmad Chalebi, Abdu'r Rahman, and other merchants laid a charter of demands before Momin Khan, the Customer *(Mutasaddi)* of Surat on behalf of "the *mahajans* [Hindu bankers] and the people of the Port of Surat." Wherever these concerned specific individuals, these were invariably non-Muslims: Shahpur Parsi, seller of *ilacha-cloth;* Manikchand and Shahar (?) *baqqāls* [Banyas]. In other grievances too the *mahājans* and *sāhūkars* are specifically mentioned as those aggrieved. In July 1726 "Mulla Muhammad, and Ahmad Chalebi and other merchants" again banded together to represent the grievances of "cloth merchants and *biyupāris*" among others, to the Castellan of Surat. When the nephew of the Castellan gave a reception to leading merchants to confirm reconciliation, the list of guests included nine named Muslims and five Hindus. A number of merchants invited remain un-named.[406]

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[404] Itimad Ali Khan, *Miratul Haqaiq*, Bodleian Library (Oxford), MS.Fraser (rotograph in Research Library, Department of History, AMU, ff.235(a) - 37 (a)
[405] *Ibid*
[406] *Ibid.*,ff. 423(a) -25(a), 427 (a) – (b).

Thus we find that there was some sort of a bond of solidarity among the *baniya* class. It was this which resulted in joint actions by the members of this community. In 1616 at Surat the entire community closed shop and threatened to leave the city:

> ...through some violence done by him to a chiefe Bannyane, the whole multitude assembled, shutt up their shopps, and (as their custome), after a generall complaint to the Governor lefte the cittie, pretendeing to goe to the courte for justice.[407]

Yet again in 1666 we find such 'joint action' which resulted out of a dispute with a *qāzi*:

> ...the Bannians having bound themselves under severe penalties not to open any of their shops without orders from their Mahager [*mahājan*] or Generall Councill, there was not any provisions to be got; the tanksall (mint) and customshouse shut; no money to be procured...[408]

This rudimentary consciousness of having same interests as a member of a 'class' however do not appear to rest on a firm ground. The very specialized profession of Sarrafs led to a separation between them and other *baniya* merchants. When in the 1650s the English had a dispute with the *sarrafs* of Surat over the payment of insurance on the ship *Supply,* a committee of "four Banyans" (apparently, *baniya* merchants) appointed by the governor supported the English case, but the *sarrafs* refused to accept their decision.[409] A sharper cleavage occurred in 1715 at Ahmadabad, where matters came nearly to an armed conflict between the merchants led by *the nagarseth* ("town merchant") Kapur Chand Bhansali: and the *sarrafs* led by

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[407] W.Foster, *A supplementary Calender of Documents in the India Office, & c., 1600-1640*, London, 1928, p.68.
[408] *EFI, 1668 – 69*, op.cit., p.192.
[409] *EFI, 1651 – 54*, p.224

Hari Ram, factor to Madan Gopal, the head of the *sarrāfs* (then at Delhi), over the issue of an increase in a deduction called *ānth* that was made when cashing bills.[410] We thus have an example where divergent professional interests could divide the Banya caste vertically.

Acquisition of profit was the keystone of a *baniya's* mercantile pursuits. To achieve this, he did not hesitate to manipulate things howsoever unethical it might seem. It was this reason that led *baniyas* to create artificial scarcities by hoarding commodities. Muhnta Nainsi records an interesting incident about the *baniyas* of Gujarat. A large amount of hoarded grain had no demand in the market due to successive bumper harvests in Gujarat. This resulted in a great loss *(tote)* to the merchants. They ultimately took the help of magicians *(vartiya)* through whose efforts there were no rains the entire year in 4000 villages of Kelakot. This helped the merchants in selling out their entire hoarded stock. The rains further failed for three or four years. Obviously, this multiplied their profits.[411]

Hoarding of grain by the members of the *baniya* class for profit seems to have been a universal phenomenon.[412] A Jain traveller, who was a saint, writes that in 1691 when there was a bumper harvest, the *baniyas* hoarded grain in the *kothis* (grain silos) and underground stores.[413] The *baniyas* later sold the stored grain at higher prices. Next year, in 1692, the merchants purchased grain at lower rates and stored it, but

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[410] *Mirat-i Abmadi,*op.cit., I, pp.410-11; see also 405--6 for more information on Kapur Chand Bhansali, Madan Gopal, and Hari Ram. The *nagarseth,* says the *Mirat,* 406, was "the head *of* the Hindu community." The Muslim Bohras *of* Ahmadabad had then a separate *seth,* or head, Mulla 'Abdul 'Aziz. Cf. Irfan Habib, "Merchant communities in Pre-Colonial India", op.cit.

[411] Muhnot Nainsi, *Khyat,* ed. B.P. Sakaria, Jodhpur, 1962, vol.II, pp.225-26.

[412] See for example, Muhnot Nainsi, *Marwar ra Pargana* ri *Vigat,* ed. N.S. Bhati, Jodhpur, 1969,Vol.II, p.63. Nainsi records that in case a *mahajan* left the place of his work and went away for any reason and then came back, the state used to take two third of the hoarded grain, while the remaining portion was left for its owner.

[413] Yati Jai Chand, *Saiki,* ed Muni Kanti Sagar, Jaipur, n.d., pp.40-46.

unfortunately it was destroyed due to excessive rains. This did not dishearten them: they brought grain from the Deccan to earn profit.[414]

Indeed persistence was a characteristic of the *baniya* culture. In 1633 when the entire population of the town of Sarang near Broach fled away because of severe famine, the *baniyas* stayed there to sell grain to travellers.[415]

Roques who is a severe critic of the *baniyas* and their ways, gives us a contrary picture:

> They are in continuous perplexity, in fear of losing their investment, because they handle the biggest business. They are so sensitive to loss that they are inconsolable at the least reverse of fortune, however modest that might be., As their soul is low and grovelling, the desire of profit touches them so close and with so much avidity that they are not preoccupied with others.[416]

In order to fortify themselves against possible loss, they habitually deceived the customers by passing on goods of poor quality at higher prices in contravention of their contract.[417]

Since trade required capital, great care was taken to save money. This habit of saving was characteristic of the *baniyas*. Roques observes:

> When by dint of work or intrigue they would have saved up to one roupie... they would bury it, and would never bring it out, for whatever need it might be, and would rather die than touch it.[418]

The *baniya's* most favourable form of savings was ornaments of gold and silver. This seems to have served a dual purpose: for the women of the family

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[414] Ibid.

[415] Peter Mundy, *Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608-67,* Halduyt Society, London, 1914, vol.II, p.271.

[416] Indrani Ray, p.83.

[417] Ibid., p.87.

[418] Ibid., p.85.

ornaments were indicators of social status; and secondly, these ornaments insured them in times of emergency.[419]

The attitude of the father of Banarasidas towards hoarding or saving is an indicator of its wider acceptance as a norm of the *baniya* life. Banarsi Das' father, Kharagsen spent money on the wedding of his elder daughter out of "underground hoarded wealth" *(sampati gadi)*.[420]

This habit of saving and amassing wealth appears to have been practiced even by the wealthiest *baniyas*. To quote Ovington:

> They [*baniyas*] are mainly addicted to prosecute their temporal interest and the amassing of treasure; and therefore will fly at the securing of a pice, though they can command whole lakhs of rupees. I know those among them computed to be worth an hundred thousand pounds... For they are always upon the thoughts of increasing their wealth.[421]

Frugality seems to have been an essential part of a *baniya's* life. Roques observes:

> This they openly show in their manner of living which is so mean that the most miserable petty thieves put them to shame if these two were compared. It is useless to go into details as to whether they are more thrifty in everything necessary for life or only in what can distinguish the wealth of the ones from its luck with regard to others. Everything is the same amòng them; the rich do not spend more than the poor...[422]

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[419] There are numerous references which show that the *baniyas* used to borrow money mortgaging their ornaments (both gold and silver) to the moneylenders (see B.L Bbadani, 'Money-Lending and Exchange in the 17th and 18tb century Marwar', *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Bhubaneswar, 1977, pp.272- 75; (Also compare *Mata Bahis*, Vyas Lokmani Collection (Microfilm in the Department of History, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh).

[420] *Ardhakathanak*, p.33.

[421] Ovington, p.123.

[422] Indrani Ray, p.83.

But this value of frugality was set aside on occasions like wedding in the family when lavish expenses were incurred leading to occasional economic disaster.[423] Commenting on their frugal attitude towards dress Tavernier remarks that they went about generally dressed in only 'a band round their waist and a miserable handkerchief' on the head. He cautions:

> In this Country one pays no attention to dress, and a person who has but a miserable ell of calico about his loins may sometimes have a good parcel of diamonds concealed...[424]

Another characteristic feature of a *baniya* was the secretiveness about his hoarded wealth. Banarasidas rationalizes this attitude as follows:

> There are nine un-utterables concerning one self: age, wealth, affairs of the household, deeds of charity, glory, infamy, measures taken for health, escapades and plans for future action. A man's wealth, then, is not something that he should talk about, and I, too, shall remain silent on the subject.[425]

Secrecy is the key to success in trade and commerce. It was a popular belief that the *baniyas* were perfect in maintaining trade secrets.[426] Thus, Roques:

> Their mutual understanding is so great and their union so close that all your money will not be able to corrupt one in order to know what the other does.[427]

They were so secretive about their wealth that even other *baniyas* would not know of it.[428]That is why it is difficult to compute the exact quantum of wealth acquired by a *baniya:* we only know that some of them were called *karorpati*,

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[423] Ibid., p.84.
[424] Tavernier, *op.cit.*, II, p.50
[425] *Ardhakathanak*, verse 460 - 61.
[426] There is a Rajasthani story about a *baniya*, though obscene, which conveys the message that he maintained secrecy even at the cost of his life (cf. *Bandhi Buhari-ri Bot in Rajasthani Batan*, ed Shobhagya Singh Shekhawat, Udaipur, n.d. vol.III, pp.24-S2).
[427] Indrani Ray, p.98; also see p.94.
[428] Ibid., p.86.

lakheshwri and *dhaneshwri*.[429] However, we do come across some estimates of wealth in the case of the great *sāhs* and merchants. For example, the "estate" of Virji Vora of Surat was said to be worth 8 million rupees in the 1660's.[430] But this was the estimate of the Europeans: Virji Vora never chose to disclose his wealth himself. The answer to this trait might be found in the State's attitude towards this class:

> There is another thing above all the rest an unpardonable Offence; for a Banyan or Rich Broker to grow Wealthy without protection of some Great person; for it is so mighty a Disquiet to the Governor, that he can never be at ease till he has seen the bottom of this Mischief; which is always cured by Transfushion of Treasure out of the Banyans into the Governors Coffers: Which makes them become humble Suitors for the Umbrage of any of Quality, to screen them from this Violence.[431]

Thus we have the evidence of *Ardhakathanak* that Nawab Qilich Khan, the governor of Jaunpur in 1595 demanded such huge amounts from the merchants and jewellers of that town that they were constrained to close shop and flee from the area.[432] It was only after the recall of this governor that the merchants could return to Jaunpur and resume business.[433]

Their secretiveness was not confined only to their wealth. It appears that even in their business transactions they resorted to a 'silent' method to hide their actual income accrued from it:

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[429] Cf. '*Vat Rijak Bina Rajput ri*' in *Rajasthani Batan*, ed. Bhawani Shanker Upadhyaya, Udaipur, n.d., vol.II, p.57; *Ajit Vilas*,ed. Shivdutt Dan Barahat, Jodhpur, 1984, p.170; '*Palak Dariyav-ri-bat*' in *Parampara*, part 6-7, Jodhpur, n.d., p.203.
[430] Thevenot, *The Indian Travels ofThevenot and Careri*, tr. and ed. S.N:Sen, Delhi, 1949, p.22; Also see Irfan Habib, op.cit., p.398.
[431] Fryer, *op.cit.*, pp.97 – 98.
[432] *Ardhakathanka*, op.cit., verses 110 – 20.
[433] *Ibid.*,verse 147

> I have to record a rather singular and curious account of the manner in which the Indians, whether they are idolators or Musalmans, make their sales of all kinds of commodities. All passes in complete silence and without anyone speaking. The seller and the buyer sit facing one another, like two tailors, and one of the two opening his waistband, the seller takes the right hand of the buyer and covers his own with his waistband, under which in the presence of many other merchants, who occupy themselves sometimes in the same manner, the sale is completed secretly without anyone having cognizance of it. For the seller and buyer talk neither by means of their lips or their eyes, but only by the hand, which they manage to do in the following manner: When the seller takes the whole hand of the buyer that means 1,000, and as many times as he presses it so many thousands of pagodas or rupees, according to the coin which may be in question. When he takes only five fingers that means 500, and when he takes only one it means 100. By taking only the half up to the middle joint, 50 is meant, and the end of the finger up to the first signifies 10....[434]

Both the Hindu and Jain merchants are reported to have deep regard for their religious beliefs and rituals.[435]

> ...The are devout Proselytes in the Worship of the Country, and tenacious of their Rites and Customs; strict Observers of Omens, so that in travelling ten miles they shall sometimes double the Ground, to avoid encountering a *Caphala* [caravan] of Asses, or to take the Hand of a Flock of Goats or Cows grazing: *In the rains they will not ride in a Coach for fear they should kill the*

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[434] Tavernier, *op.cit.*, II, pp.58 – 59; Fryer, *op.cit.*,p.112; Francesco Carletti, *My Voyage Around the World*, tr. From Italian by Herbert Weinstock, London, 1965, pp.205 – 6; *The Voyage of Francois Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies, the Maldives, the Moluccas and Brazil*, tr. & ed. Albert Gray, Haklyut Society, London, n.d., II, p.179.

[435] Cf. '*Palak Dariyav-ri-bat*', pp.203-4. *Also* see *Ardhakathanak*, pp.7-10.

> *Insects generated in the Cart-Ruts, or Stinking Puddles*: So foolishly superstitious are they and precise in Matters of Religion; in cases of Trade they are not so hide-bound, giving their Consciences more Scope, and boggle at no Villany for an Emolument.[436]

In spite of what Fryer says, we find Kharagsen, the father of Banarsi Das, hiring a horse carriage (*ek turgam ek rath*) in 1576 to transport his family and possessions to Jaunpur.[437] He does not appear to have had any compunction in trampling over insects under the cart-rut of his carriage.

The *baniyas* as to be expected were strict vegetarian in their food habits:

> The *baniyas* are a certain class of Hindus who eat neither flesh nor fish, and only consume grain, vegetables, milk, and great deal of butter.[438]

Some information is also available on their mode of sitting even while partaking their food. Van W.Geleynssen de Jongh, a Dutch factor thus mentions:

> Their (the *baniyas*) manner in sitting in any place (in their house) is mostly on ground on which they usually lay a sheet (carpet or other cloth) which generally is a white sheet or of woollen cloth. This is the usual method used by (even) the substantial merchants.[439]

The Muslim merchants however used 'chairs' (*stoelen*) to sit in their verandahs. In their rooms however they would use the ground covered with white sheets like their non-Muslim brethren. On their tables they would however have dishes prepared from *halāl* meat. Intoxicants were also prohibited from their tables.[440]

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[436] Fryer, *op.cit.*, p. 193.
[437] Ardhakathanak, verse 73
[438] Manucci, *op.cit.*, I, p.151
[439] W. Caland ed. , *Remonstratie van W.Geleynnssen de Jogh*, Gravenhage, 1929, p.67. I am thankful to my friend and colleague Dr.Ishrat Alam for not only providing this information but also giving me his translation of this Dutch source.
[440] *Ibid.* Further according to de Jongh shoes were to be removed by persons entering into these Muslim merchants' houses.

According to Manucci the *baniyas* were the 'most superstitious' amongst all the Hindus as far as the devotion to the cows were concerned:

> They are very desirous of owning a cow, from the worship that they pay to this animal. They are so devoted to the cow, in whom rests their entire hope of salvation, that in the agony of death they take hold of a cow's tail and die with it in their hands. By this act they imagine they are absolved from all their sins; they think that the cow carries them aloft into the sky without touching those flames of fire that they have merited for their sinful deeds.....when purchance the animals urinates on the dying man while holding its tail in his hand, far from trying to keep him out of the way, they say that he has been made holy, and perform great rejoicings at great expense in gratitude for such a favour.[441]

Manucci also comments on their great veneration of the *gangajal* (the water of the river Ganges) which, he says, they carried to great distances. They would also trudge from far off places to the banks of Ganges to take the holy dip which would help them 'attain redemption and become delivered from ... sins'.[442]

The image that the *baniyas* tried to build up was that they were staunch believers in non-violence, truth, honesty and philanthropy.[443] But the perception of the masses was not always favourable. Rumours and stories were in circulation accusing them of violating some of their religious rules.[444]

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[441] *Ibid.*
[442] *Ibid.*, I, pp. 152 -53
[443] See Mukund Lath's notes and comments in the *Ardhakathanak*, pp.143-46.
[444] Tavernier reproduces a story related to a Jain merchant Santidas, probably not the great well known Santidas Jhaveri. Since he did not have any issue, he made his wife eat fish which was disapproved by his religious beliefs (cf. Tavernier, op.cit., I, pp.61-62). The same kind of story related to other merchants is recorded in a contemporary Rajasthani source. Here, however, instead of the wife, the husband ate fish to have a fifth son from his second wife (See '*Sahukar ri Bat*' in *Rajasthani Batan*, III,op.cit, pp.53-67).

Again, while they undertook many acts of charity and benevolence,[445] the habitual lust for money or profit forced them to take contradictory steps disregarding human distress in general. The severity of famine in 1692 in Rajasthan they charged five times higher interest rates than the normal even on secured loans.[446]

It is also interesting to note that inspite of the strict adherence to their faith; the class could not remain uninfluenced by external practices. Thus we find the Muslim practice of marriage-dower (*mihr*) being followed by Hindu merchants who started giving it to their wives. [447]

A number of documents preserved in the Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris, provide information about the customs of the mercantile classes in Gujarat. A non-Muslim Gujarati wife, for example, appears as entitled for '*mehr*' (dower), that is, the right of a wife to a pre-determined sum (in cash or kind) payable to her by her husband. In one of the documents (dated 16th October 1660) a woman, Phulan, is said to have acquired a share in the ownership of a house from her husband as *mehr*.[448] Another document (*bai'nāma*-cum-*hibanāma*, dated 11 February 1686) is more explicit when it records that a *banya* (*baqqāl*) purchased a residential building at Cambay for Rs. 701/- *Ālamgiri* , a handsome amount for 1686 , "for the payment of *mehr*" of his wife, and delivered the same to her along with gold and silver jewellery, utensils etc, in satisfaction of her *mehr* claims.[449] Was this *mehr* just a voluntary gift from the husband, or a case of Muslim influence on Gùjarati non-Muslim

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[445] Hiranand Shah gave generous help to those who migrated to Patna from Rajasthan during the famine of 1694 (cf. Jaichand, *Saiki*, op.cit., pp.51-52). Many Hospitals for animals were opened by the *baniyas* in Ahmadabad, for which see Tavernier, pp.63-64.

[446] Jaichand, *Saiki*, p.40.

[447] For details see my paper, "Civil Laws and Justice in Mughal Gujarat", *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Mysore, 1993; see also Shireen Moosvi, "Travails of a mercantile community: Aspects of Social Life at the Port of Surat (Early half of the 17th century)", *PIHC*, 52nd Session, Delhi, 1992,pp. 400-9; Jawaid Akhtar, "Merchants and Urban property: A Study of Cambay Documents of the 17th -18th Centuries", *PIHC*, Dharwar, 1988.

[448] *NAI 2695 / 26.*

[449] NAI 2695 / 8.

communities? From these documents it further appears that the daughter also received share in the property from their deceased father.[450] As a wife she inherited property from the husband along with his sons and daughters.[451]

The *baniyas* cultivated the virtues of "persuasion" and "sweet-tongue" which were quite valuable in their profession. Tavernier writes:

> If anyone gets in a rage with them they listen with patience, without replying, and withdraw coldly, not returning to see him for four or five days, when they anticipate his rage will be over.[452]

Losing temper was held to be very detrimental to business interest and, therefore, patience acquired the status of a recognized practice among *baniyas.* A Rajasthani source employs the word *saras* (sweet-tongue) as an adjective for the *sāhs,* thereby underscoring the basic element in their behaviour towards customers.[453]

The timid nature of members of this class, was obviously owing to their aptitude for caution. Manucci in fact narrates an anecdote to bring out this aspect of their nature. Once when Akbar is said to have invited the 'head of the *baniyas*' and asked him the question regarding which side the stream in the garden was flowing, the *baniya* did not make a direct reply as he was not sure of the import of the question.[454] At another place he records:

> They [the *baniyas*] are very careful about the answers they give to questions....according to popular sayings, it is their habit to dissemble even when someone asks them what day it is (they are, however, much more ready to answer if you talk of business). They give a useless answer...[455]

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[450] NAI 2695 / 33.
[451] NAI 2695 / 16.
[452] Tavernier, p.149.
[453] Cf. Yati Shri Nihal,*Bengal Deshki Gajal,* op.cit., p.48.
[454] Manucci, *op.cit.,* I, p.140
[455] *Ibid.,*I, p.152

Such as were Jains presumably, had an aversion to the taking of life even of insects and Manucci, has a bazar story about it as well.[456]

As for hours of business, Tavernier informs us that they would proceed to their place of work around 10 to 11 O'clock after they had bathed and dined.[457]

Trade naturally involved travelling. Banarasidas witnessed the members of *Oswal-baniya* sub-caste almost all over north India. He specifically mentions a locality in Fathpur named after one such migrant caste-group.[458] Similar practice of naming a locality after the new-settlers from Marwar is available in our sources.[459] We are told that the family of Santidas migrated to Ahmedabad from Marwar.[460] Kapur Chand Bhansali, a Marwari, is reported to have settled in Ahmedabad.[461] A large-scale Marwari migration took place during the severe famine of 1694 to Patna where the migrants were welcomed by a big merchant Hiranand Sah, himself a migrant from Marwar.[462] Such migrations probably explain the spread of Marwaris and other *baniyas* over large parts of Northern India and the Deccan.

[456] *Ibid.*
[457] Tavernier, *op.cit.*, II, p.47
[458] *Ardhakathanak,* verses 140 - 41
[459] See *Bengal Deshki Gajal,* op.cit., pp.48-50. This is in reference to Zafarabad and a place indentified as 'Karahabad'.
[460] Dwijendra Tripathi and M.J. Mehta, 'The Nagarseth of Abmedabad: the History of an Urban Institution in a Gujarat city', *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress,* Hyderabad, 1978, pp.481-96.
[461] The ancestors of Kapur Chand had migrated to Abmedabad, but, he retained his house in Marwar (see *Ajit Vilas,*op.cit., p.203).
[462] Cf. B.L.Bhadani, "Characteristics and Social Mores of the Banias", *Art and Culture, Felicitation Volume in Honour of Professor S.Nurul Hasan*, ed. A.J.Qaisar & S.P.Verma, Jaipur, 1993, p.52

[Chapter III (i)]

Scholars, Philosophers, Scientists and Teachers

[III (i)]

Scholars, Philosophers, Scientists and Teachers

The learned profession appears to have been much in evidence in the Mughal Empire. The most prominent amongst them were the scholars who have been mentioned by most of the contemporary chroniclers.

Abul Fazl while enumerating the learned men of the age of Akbar divides them according to their knowledge, irrespective of their creeds, into five 'classes' (*tabaqa*). Abul Fazl mentions twenty one scholars, twelve Muslims and nine Hindus who 'perceive the mysteries of the external and internal' (*khadev nishā'tin*). The second category of Abul Fazl comprised those who understood 'the mysteries of the heart' (*khadāwand-i bātin*). The list contains fifteen names of which two were Hindus. Those who 'knew the philosophy and theology' (*dāninda-i ma'qūl wa manqūl*) were categorized as the third category. The list in the *A'in* containing twelve names does not mention any Hindu scholar. The fourth category was sub-divided in two groups: those who knew philosophy (*shināsa-i 'aqli kalām*) and the physicians (*puzishkān*). In the first sub-category Abul Fazl lists twenty one names, seven Muslims and fourteen Hindus; the second sub-category, the physicians has twenty nine names of which four are Hindus. The last category comprising those who understood the 'sciences resting on testimony' (*khwāna-i naqli maqāl*) lists forty three names of which two are non-Muslims. All these 141 scholars however appear to have been affiliated with the court.[463]

Badauni on the other hand lists a total of 108 scholars. He, contrary to Abul Fazl, categorizes them into two groups, those who at one time or the other were in the

[463] Abul Fazl, *A'in-i Akbari*, ed. H. Blochmann, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1867-77, vol. I, p. 166

imperial service and those who, although, not connected with the Mughal court, had been personally known to him or with whom he had in some way or other, benefited. In the first category he incorporates brief accounts of thirty eight men of education and in the second seventy.[464]

Incidentally all those mentioned by Badauni are Muslim scholars and theologians. However Badauni elsewhere makes a mention of 'Sāmanas (*śraman as*, the Buddhist ascetics) and Brahmans', who according to him, were:

> ...in every way superior in reputation to all the learned and trained men for their treatises on morals, and on physical and religious sciences, and in religious ecstasies, and stages of spiritual progress and human perfections.[465]

Among these Brahman scholars, Badauni makes a special mention of Purukhotam (Purshottam?) and Devi Brahman who had been invited by the emperor to hold discussions and debates with him. Purshottam was ultimately assigned the job of translating the Sanskrit names for all things into Persian while Devi was involved as an interpreter in the project for the translation of the *Mahābhārata* into Persian.[466]

Abdul Baqi Nahawandi also provides a list of scholars. He mentions eighty five scholars who were enrolled in the court of Abdur Rahim Khan-i Khanan during the reigns of Akbar and Jahangir.[467] Like the list provided by Badauni, all the scholars mentioned and discussed by Nahawandi are Muslims.

It further appears from these sources that there were a large number of poets who adorned the courts of the Mughal rulers, apart from those versifiers who were independent of the imperial authority.

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[464] Badauni, *Muntakhab ut Tawārīkh*, ed., Ahmad Ali, Kabiruddin Ahmad & L.W.Nassau Lee, Bib.Ind., Calcutta, 1864-69, vol. III, ch.I & II.
[465] Badauni, *op.cit.*, II, pp.257-58
[466] *Ibid.*
[467] Mulla Abdul Baqi Nahawandi, *Ma'āsir-i Rahīmi*, ed. Mohd. Hidayat Hussain, Baptiste Mission, Calcutta, 1931, III, pp.9 - 1576

As far as the reign of Shahjahan is concerned, a list of scholars is given by Abdul Hamid Lahori as an appendage to his account of the first decade of the reign.[468] He divides the learned men of the age into four heads, viz. *tabaqa-i mashāikh* (mystics), *tabaqa-i fuzalā* (theologians), *tabaqa-i atibba* (physicians), and *tabaqa-i shu'arā* (poets). Lahori includes a short list at the end of his second volume as well, which for the major part is the repetition of the earlier list.[469] However in this second list, instead of using the phrase '*fuzala*', he uses the term '*ulama*'(scholars).[470]

From these lists of Lahori it appears that there were fourteen mystics, sixteen theologians, nine physicians and five poets in the court of Shahjahan.[471]

Unfortunately not much information is forthcoming as far as these scholars are concerned. However a study of our sources reveal that the Mughal society was a fertile ground for the dissemination of the rationalistic philosophy which was developing in Iran during this period. This might have been facilitated through the large number of Persian migrations to Mughal India. These Persian emigrants to Akbar's India included scholars like Hakim Abul Fath Gilani along with his two brothers, Hakim Humam and Hakim Lutfullah, Hakim Ali, Shah Fathullah Shirazi and Qazi Nurullah Shustari al-Mar'ashi.

Under Akbar not only had the Mughal Court withdrawn much of its patronage from the orthodoxy,[472] but the general atmosphere was also one of religious debate and dialogue. Akbar himself had established an *Ibādatkhāna* at Fathpur Sikri where from 1575 onwards religious discussions were regularly held between the theologians

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[468] Abdul Hamid Lahori, *Pādshāhnāma*, ed.Kabiruddin ahmad & Abdur Rahim, ASB Calcutta, 1867-68, vol.I, pt.ii, pp.328 - 58
[469] *Ibid.*, II, ii, pp.753 - 57
[470] *Ibid.*, II, ii, p.754
[471] For a much more detailed list of scholars and poets during the reign of Shahjahan, see Muhammad Sadiq, *Tabaqāt-i Shāhjahānī*, MS. No.226 *farsia akhbar*, University Collection, Maulana Azad Library, AMU (MS. 79, Research Library, Department of History, AMU)
[472] Abul Fazl, *Akbarnāma*, Calcutta, 1881-86, vol.III, pp.491-500, 656-66.

of various sects and faiths.[473] From 1578 onwards the scope of the debates in the *Ibādatkhāna* were widened and apart from Muslim mystics and theologians, the Shi'i, 'brahmans' (i.e. Hindus), Jains, Christians, Jews, Sabeans and Zoroastrian scholars began participating. All this also must have helped in the development of a rationalistic outlook. Outside the court as well such religious debates were getting common.

On the other hand this period also saw the compilation of a large number of Sunni polemical works. For example Abdullah Sultanpuri wrote *Minhāj al-dīn wa Mi'rāj ul Muslimīn*. The *Sawāiq al Muhriqa* of ibn Hajar al-Haisami and *al-Nawāqiz al-rawāfiz* of Makhdum Sharifi were also in circulation. The Shi'i scholars and theologians too were not far behind. Qazi Nurullah's *Masā'ib un Nawāsib* was the first Shi'i rejoinder written in India to the polemical debate initiated by the Sunni *'ulama*. Qazi Nurullah Shustari is credited to have written and compiled a large number of books and treatises including 9 on *Tafsīr* (exegises), 16 on *Fiqh* (jurisprudence/law), 2 on *Usūl-i fiqh* (the fundamental sources of Law), 3 on *Hadis* (traditions), 41 on *Kalām* (theology), 4 on *Mantiq* (Logic), 11 on Philosophy, 2 on 'Ilm-i r*eyāzi*, 4 on *Ilm-i rijāl*, 3 on *sarf wa-nahw* (syntax and morphology), and 7 on *Adab* (culture) apart from a number of other works.[474]

In India philosophy (*hikmat*) and the rational sciences (*ma'qūlat*) among the Muslim intelligentsia had started making incursions at least from the 15th Century onwards. In fact from the time of Sikandar Lodi, *ma'qūlat* (at the expense of

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[473] Badauni, op.cit., II, pp.203, 207-8.2

[474] See Saiyid Sibtul Hasan, *Tazkira-i Majīd*, Karachi, 5th reprint 1984

manqūlat i.e. transmitted sciences) began to be emphasized and added to the Muslim educational system.[475]

With Mughal period the rational sciences started being further emphasised. Akbar himself tried to include rational sciences like arithmetic, agriculture, household management, rules of governance, medicine, etc., in the educational curriculum.[476] Along with it there was a stress on reason (*'aql*) which was to be given precedence over traditionalism (*taqlīd*).[477] This stress on rationalism and reason was something which was unique. It was during this period that the Ishrāqi philosophy was gaining ground at Akbar's court. Rationalism (*'aql*) was being stressed as against blind imitation. The chief proponent of this philosophy during this period was Abul Fazl.[478] Irfan Habib points out that among the two important functions which Abul Fazl assigns to a just ruler (*kār giya*) one is that such a sovereign "shall not seek popular acclaim through opposing reason (*'aql*)."[479] Probably this emphasis on rationalism was due to the advent of Fathullah Shirazi in the Mughal court. We have the testimony of Azad Bilgrami that it was Shah Fathullah Shirazi who introduced the works of Iranian rationalist thinkers like Muhaqqiq Dawwani[480], Mir Sadruddin, Mir Ghiyasuddin Mansur and Mirza Jan. He would not only himself teach these works but under his influence they were introduced in the curriculum of the seminaries of higher education and learning.[481] It was possibly a result of this that subsequently we find that the works and thoughts of Mir Damad and Mulla Sadra found such a favourable

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[475] GMD Sufi, *Al-Minhaj: Being the Evolution of Curriculum in the Muslim Educational Institutions of India*, Delhi, 1977, p.33.
[476] *A'in-i Akbari*, ed.H.Blochmann, Calcutta, 1872, vol.I, pp.201-2.
[477] *Ibid.*, II, p.229.
[478] See Irfan Habib, "Two Indian Theorists of the State: Barani and Abul Fazl," presented at the Patiala session of the Indian History Congress, 1998
[479] *Ibid.*, I, p.3.
[480] For al-Dawwani see John Cooper, "Jalal al-Din Dawani", *Routledge Encyclopaedia of Philosophy*, ed. Edward Craig & O.Leaman, 1998, vol.2, pp.806-7.(For online version visit http://www.muslimphilosophy.com/ip/rep/H038.htm)
[481] Mir Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgrami, *Ma'asir ul Kiram*, Agra, 1910, pp.236-37

response in India. Describing the characteristic features of Mulla Sadra's 'transcendent philosophy' James Morris writes:

> ...a condition of intrinsic finality, completion, fulfillment, and inner peace (compatible with the most intensive activity); a unique sense of unity, wholeness, and communion (with no ultimate separation of subject and object); a distinctive suspension (or warping or extension) of our actual perceptions of time and space; where nature is involved, a vision of all being as essentially alive (in a way quite different from our usual distinction of animate and inanimate entities); a sense of profound inner freedom and liberation (or, negatively stated, the absence of anxiety, guilt or regret); a perception of universal, nonjudgmental love or compassion, extending to all beings; a paradoxical sense of 'ek-stasis', or standing beyond and encompassing the ongoing flow of particular events (including the actions of one's 'own' body).[482]

Sadra was a scholar 'fundamentally concerned both with the dialectical interplay between experience and transcendence, and a journey towards it, a journey which not just Muslims were making but the whole of humanity'.[483] He was not only the one who brought about a synthesis of the traditional and the rational knowledge and the most notable among the philosophers of the Shiraz school, he was the reviver of the rational sciences. In the words of Saiyyid Hossain Nasr:

> (Mulla Sadra) by coordinating philosophy as inherited from the Greeks and interpreted by the Peripatetics and Illuminationists before him with the teachings of Islam in its exoteric and esoteric aspects he succeeded in putting

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[482] James Winston Morris, *The Wisdom of the Throne: An Introduction to the Philosophy of Mulla Sadra*, Princeton, 1981, p.9.

[483] Francis Robinson, *The Ulama of Farangi Mahall and Islamic Culture in South Asia*, Delhi, 2001, p.55.

Gnostic doctrines of Ibn 'Arabi in logical dress. He made purification of the soul a necessary basis and complement of the study of *Hikmat*, thereby bestowing on philosophy the practice of ritual and spiritual virtues which it had lost in the period of decadence of classical civilization. Finally, he succeeded in correlating the wisdom of the ancient Greek and Muslim sages and philosophers as interpreted esoterically with the inner meaning of the Qur'an.[484]

Mir Abul Qasim Astarabadi Findiriski, who had been one of those who taught Mulla Sadra, was deeply under the influence of the *mashshā'i* (Peripatetic) philosophy. He also wrote on *'irfān* (Gnosticism). He outlined a whole theory of visionary experience, which presupposes the idea of 'spiritual senses', the senses of '*ālam al-misāl* which were later emphasized by Mulla Sadra.[485]

Conducive ground for the penetration of the rationalist philosophy must also have been prepared by the visits of Mir Findiriski to India during the reign of Shahjahan.[486] Findiriski during his stay is also said to been attracted to the Indian yogic practices and had written *Muntakhab Jog*, an anthology of *Yoga Vashishtha*.[487]

The legacy of the *ma'qūlat* established by Fathullah Shirazi during the reign of Akbar was carried forward by such noted scholars as Abdus Salam Lahori, Abdus Salam Dewi, Shaikh Daniyal Chaurasi and ultimately, Mulla Qutbuddin Sihalawi, the father of Mulla Nizamuddin, the first *rector* of the Farangi Mahal and the founder of

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[484] Nasr, "Sadr al-Din Shirazi (Mulla Sadra)", *A History of Muslim Philosophy*, Wiesbaden, 1966, vol.II, p.958.

[485] S.Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A Socio-Intellectual History of the Isna 'Ashari Shi'is in India*, vol.II, Canberra, 1986, pp.219-20.

[486] See SAA Rizvi, *History of Isna 'Asharis*, op.cit, pp.219-20; idem, *Shah Waliullah and his Times*, Canberra, 1980, pp.64-65.

[487] Ibid.

dars-i nizāmi.[488] Another rationalist scholar in the Mughal court was Mulla Shafi'ai Yazdi Danishmand Khan.

The *hikmat* traditions as they developed in Iran appear to have easy acceptance in the Mughal Empire during the reign of Shahjahan. An example can be given of Mulla Mahmud Faruqi of Jaunpur, a peripatetic scholar, and a mathematician, who had been a student of Mir Damad at Shiraz. In India he was educated at Jaunpur under Shaikh Muhammad Afzal. He had not only been invited to the Mughal court by Shahjahan but counted Shah Shuja and Shaista Khan amongst his disciples.[489] A contemporary of Mulla Sadra, he had joined the Mughal court in 1640. Very soon we find him taking part in a debate with Mulla Abdul Hakim Siyalkoti, a scholar who had written a number of glosses and commentaries on the works of Mulla Sharif Juzjani, Sa'duddin Taftazani and Mulla Jalaluddin Dawwani.[490] He is credited to have written at least two treatises on physics and metaphysics, viz. *as-Shams'ul Bāzighah* and *ad-Dauhatul Mayyaddah fi Hadiqat'us Surah wa'l Maddah.*[491] Another scholar of the same period was Mulla Abdul Hakim, author of a number of glossaries and commentaries on the works of such philosophers like Sharif Jurjani, Tajuddin Taftazani and Dawani.[492]

The author of *Dabistān-i Mazāhib*, during the same reign records a number of scholars who had obtained training in the philosophical traditions of Iran. For example he mentions Hakim Dastur of Isfahan who had been received training under 'Mir Baqir Damad, Shaikh Bahauddin Muhammad, Mir Abul Qasim Findiriski and

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488 For these scholars see *Ma'asirul Kiram*, op.cit., pp.235-36, 209

489 SAA Rizvi, *Shah Waliullah and his Times*, op.cit., p.66

490 Shahnawaz Khan, *Ma'asirul Umara*, Calcutta, 1881-91, vol.II, pp.30-32; See also SAA Rizvi, *History of Isna 'Asharis*, op.cit, II, pp.224-27

491 See A.Rahman, MA Alvi et.al., *Science and Technology in Medieval India – A Bibliography of Source Materials in Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian*, INSA, New Delhi, 1982, p.495

492 Lahori, I, ii, pp. 340-41; *ibid.*, II, ii, p.755

other such scholars of Shiraz'.[493] Another '*mashshā'ī*' scholar metioned by the author of *Dabistān* was Hakim Kamran who, he says, was considered a '*barādar jān barābar*' (brother as close as heart) by the famous Mir Findiriski.[494] Settled in the regions of Lahore and Agra respectively, these scholars might have also come into the contact of Sadra's views which were creating during the same period in Shiraz.

A direct reference to the philosophy and works of Mulla Sadra is found during the early eighteenth century when the rational sciences in the tradition of Dawwani and Sadra came to be represented in the teaching curriculum at the newly established Farangi Mahal seminary at Lucknow. Mulla Nizamuddin Sihalwi, the first rector of this seminary who is credited to have introduced the famous *dars-i nizāmi* syllabus[495], appears to have written a commentary on Mulla Sadra's *Sharh-i Hidāyat al-Hikma* and introduced this work in his syllabus being taught at Farangi Mahal.[496] This commentary of Nizamuddin Ahmad is now popularly known as *Sadra*. Within a few years of the compilation of Nizamuddin's work, Mulla Hasan Farangi Mahali (d.1794-95), a famous logician of the same school of thought, wrote his own commentary on Mulla Sadra's *Hikmat* which also was included in the various seminaries of the eighteenth century. Similarly 'Alim Sandilvi Farangi Mahali, the founder of the Khairabad School also compiled his own commentary of Mulla Sadra's *Hikmat.*[497] Mulla Sadra appears to have been noticed by Shah Abdul Aziz Dihlavi as

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[493] *Dabistan-i Mazahib*, Nawal Kishore, Lucknow, 1904, p.364.
[494] ibid., p.365
[495] For the early development of the *dars-i nizami* and the books included in this curriculum see, Muhammad Raza Ansari, *Bani-i dars-i nizami*, Lucknow, 1973; Alta fur Rahman, *Qiyam-i Nizam-i Ta'lim*, Lucknow, 1924; GMD Sufi, *al-Minhaj*, op.cit., pp.89-152.
[496] *Ma'asir ul Kiram*, op.cit., p.220.
[497] See Maulana Fazl-i Imam Khairabadi, *Tarajim-i Fuzala*, (ed. & tr.) Mufti Intizamullah Shihabi, Karachi, 1956 cf. Francis Robinson, *The Ulama of Farangi Mahall*, op.cit., p.52.

well. A commentary written by the Shah, *Sharh-i Mulla Sadra* is preserved in the Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh.[498]

Study of Science too does not appear to have been totally neglected by the scholars of the Mughal period. Shah Fathullah Shirazi during the reign of Akbar is credited to have created a number of technical devices like a portable grinding mill and a portable gun.[499]

During Shahjahan and Aurangzeb's reign we hear of Mulla Shafi'ai Danishmand Khan, who joined the Mughal court in 1651. Bernier in a passage testifies to his awareness of William Harvey's theory of the circulation of blood and the works of Jean Pecquet on anatomy. He was also interested in the writings of the French philosopher, scientist and mathematician, Pierre Gassendi and René Descartes. The works of these European scientists and philosophers were translated for Danishmand Khan by Bernier into Persian.[500] At another place Bernier informs us: Astronomy, geography, and anatomy are his favourite pursuits, and he reads with avidity the works of *Gassendy* and *Descartes*.[501]

During the reign of Aurangzeb, Danishmand Khan was appointed to the post of the governor of Delhi. In consideration to his studious habit, Bernier says, the emperor exempted him from 'the ancient ceremony of repairing twice a day to the assembly, for the purpose of saluting the King; the omission of which subjects other *Omrahs* to a pecuniary penalty.'[502]

As far as Alchemy is concerned, it appears that it was from the reign of Akbar that scholars of Mughal India had started compiling their works on the subject. Thus

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[498] Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz, *Sharh-i Mulla Sadra*, MS. Firangi Mahal Collection, Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh.
[499] MA Alvi & A Rahman, *Fathullah Shirazi – A Sixteenth Century Indian Scientist*, New Delhi, 1968
[500] Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire AD 1656-1668*, ed. A. Constable & revised by V. A. Smith, Delhi, 1983, p.324
[501] *Ibid.*, p.353
[502] *Ibid.*, p. 186; See also *ibid.*, p. 352-3

we hear of Abdullah bin Hasan bin Ibrahim bin Husain Kuhdizi Damghani who wrote a short treatise on the preparation of ink.[503] In 1624 Hakim Mir Yahya Failsuf Maghribi compiled *Majmu'a tus Sanā'ī*, which deals chiefly with the formulae of various chemical arts and crafts and describes the art of making artificial pearls and precious stones like ruby, diamond, emerald, topaz, coral, sapphire, turquoise and lapis lazuli. Processes like polishing the crystal, colouring ivory, and making of European swords, preparation of dyes, dissolving of various metals and preparing oxides of gold, silver, copper and talc are discussed amongst other things by Mir Yahya.[504]

Sometime during the 17th – 18th Century was written an encyclopaedic work by a scholar named Abdul Karim bin Ishaq Ma'abari.[505] It is a work on medicine and chemical technology containing recipes for the preparation of various salts, soaps, wax and oxides of metals and stones. Also included in this work are the methods of bleaching and gold-plating of iron, polishing of '*tegh-i farangi*' (Western swords), testing of perfumes as well as certain charms and amulets.

Manucci succinctly brings out the obsession of the Mughal scholars and Alchemists to convert base metals to gold. He mentions Mirak Mu'inuddin Ahmad Amanat Khan and his son Mir Hussaini, also entitled Amanat Khan who unsuccessfully devoted their life-time in this futile endeavour. Writing about the elder Amanat Khan, Manucci says:

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[503] Abdullah Damghani, *Adā tul Kitāb*, MS., Curzon Collection of Persian Manuscripts of Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1926, no. 431

[504] Mir Yahya, *Majmu'a tus Sanā'ī*, MS., India Office, no. 2783. *Cf.* A.Rahman, MA Alvi et.al., *Science and Technology in Medieval India – A Bibliography of Source Materials in Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian*, op.cit., p.448

[505] Abdul Karim, *Khulāsah-I Mufīdul Insān*, MS. Raza Library, Rampur, no. *Tibb*. 285

Every year he wasted thirty thousand rupees, and yet never in all these years attained the desired result, although always busily occupied with retorts and stills, as is the habit of alchemists.[506]

A perusal of the sources and the extant manuscripts on the various sciences preserved in various collections like the Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh, the Raza Library, Rampur, the India Office Library and the British Museum in London point towards the inclination of the scholars of the Mughal India to fields like Astronomy, Geography, Geology, Gemmology, Botany, and Zoology apart from subjects like Alchemy and Astronomy. (See Table I).

TABLE I

SUBJECT	**16th Cent**				**17th Cent**				**18th Cent**			
	Pers	**Arb**	**Sansk**	**Total**	**Pers**	**Arb**	**Sansk**	**Total**	**Pers**	**Arb**	**Sansk**	**Total**
Agriculture	1	-	-	**1**	-	2	-	**2**	5	-	-	**5**
Astronomy	34	36	93	**163**	39	30	190	**259**	32	22	37	**91**
Botany	-	-	1	**1**	-	-	1	**1**	-	-	2	**2**
Chemistry	3	1	2	**6**	3	4	2	**9**	2	-	2	**4**

[506] Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, tr. With Introdn & notes by W.Irvine, Calcutta, (reprint), 1966-67, vol. IV, pp.148-49

Geog. including Geology & Gemmology	6	6	-	**12**	4	4	6	**14**	10	2	-	**12**
Medicine	120	10	61	**191**	102	12	122	**236**	133	6	80	**219**
Physics	3	3	13	**19**	3	12	19	**34**	3	4	2	**9**
Science	3	2	-	**5**	5	-	-	**5**	7	1	-	**8**
Zoology	12	-	-	**12**	19	2	2	**23**	6	-	-	**6**

Sources: A.Rahman, M.A. Alvi et.al., *Science and Technology in Medieval India – A Bibliography of Source Materials in Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian*, INSA, New Delhi, 1982

Amongst these subjects, there appears to have been a keen interest towards astronomy, a subject on which much literature survives. A number of treatises were written by the scholars on the subject with special emphasis on the making and use of

astrolabes. To give some examples, we have the *Sharh-i Samāwāt*,[507] compiled in 1556 by Abul Fath Fathhi Fathullah bin Shaikh Mustafa bin Shaikh Abdus Shukur Faruqi. *Risāla dar Hai'at*, a treatise on Astronomy was compiled around the same time by Abdul Majid bin Muhammad Qutbuddin Munnajin Akbarshahi.[508] During the late 16th Century, Abdur Rahim Fakhri wrote a treatise on the astrolabe with directions for its use known as *Minhāj ut Tahqīq*.[509] During the late 17th Century we have the *Kashful hijāb fi'l 'ilm ul Usturlāb* written by Abul Hasan bin Muhammad Baqir bin Ghiyasuddin Husaini, which again is a work devoted to the making and working of the astrolabes.[510] It appears that the astronomers too were in large numbers in Mughal India.

The importance of the profession of the astrologers and the astronomers is brought out by our contemporary sources. According to Manucci:

> ... there is not a great man who had not in his house an astrologer, if it be only to know the right hour for leaving his house on any business, even down to when to put on a new cloak (cabaxa).[511]

These astrologers were, we are informed, commonly Brahmins or *mullas*.[512] Dealing with the Brahmin astrologers, Tavernier wrote:

> Every Brahman has his book of magic, in which there are a number of circles and semicircles of squares and triangles, and many other kinds of figures. They draw diverse figures on the ground, and when they perceive that the

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507 Abul Fath Fathhi, *Sharh-i Samāwāt*, MS. Maulana Azad Library, University *farsiya funun, Supplement, nujum* 1

508 Abdul Majid Munajjim, *Risāla dar Hai'at*, Raza Library, Rampur, MS. 1197

509 Abdur Rahim Fakhri, *Minhāj ut Tahqīq*, MS. Asiatic Society of Bengal, no. 1494 / 2

510 Abul Hasan Husaini, *Kashful hijāb fi'l 'ilm ul Usturlāb*, MS. Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh Muslim University, Habibganj Collection, no. 44 / 9

511 Manucci, *op.cit.*, I, pp.204-5

512 Peter Mundy, The *Travels of Peter Mundy*, vol. II, *The Travels in Asia, 1628-34*, ed. R.C. Temple, pp. 194 – 95

> fortunate hour has arrived, they all cry aloud to the people to throw food into the Ganges...[513]

Among Hindu astrologers of Akbar's court, two very famous astrologers were Jotik Rai Nilkantha and Krishna Dwaijna.[514]

Bernier too mentions the court astrologers, who according to him were not necessarily Hindus:

> Those who frequent the court of the grandees are considered by them eminent doctors, and become wealthy....Kings and nobles grant large salaries to these crafty diviners, and never engage in the most trifling transaction without consulting them. They read whatever is written in heaven; fix upon the *Sahet*, and solve every doubt by opening the *Koran.*[515]

However this class of astrologer's was not confined to the courts only. Manucci writes:

> Of this astrologer tribe there are great numbers in the Mogul kingdom; even the *bazars* swarm with these folk and by this means they find out all that passes in the houses. Both Moguls and Hindus are so credulous that they put faith in all that these men choose to tell them.[516]

Describing the *bazaar* of Delhi, Bernier provides some details regarding the *bazaar*-astrologers. He writes:

> Hither, likewise, the astrologers resort, both *Mahometan* ànd *Gentile*. These wise doctors remain seated in the sun, on a dusty piece of carpet, handling some old mathematical instruments, and having open before them a large book which represents the signs of the zodiac. In this way they attract the attention

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[513] Tavernier, *Tavernier's Travels in India*, tr. V.Ball & Crooke, London, 1923, vol.II, p.193
[514] SR Sarma, "Astronomical Instruments in Mughal Miniatures", *op.cit.*, pp.256 – 57
[515] Bernier, *op.cit.*, p.245; see also p.243
[516] Manucci, *op.cit.*, I, p.205.

> of the passengers, and impose upon the people, by whom they are considered as so many infallible oracles. They tell a poor person his fortune for a *payssa* (which is worth about one sol); and after examining the hand and face of the applicant, turning over the leaves of the large book, and pretending to make certain calculations, these impostors decide upon the *Sahet* or propitious moment of commencing the business he may have in hand. Silly women, wrapping themselves in a white cloth from head to foot, flock to the astrologers, whisper to them all the transactions of their lives, and disclose every secret with no more reserve than is practised by a scrupulous penitent in the presence of her confessor. The ignorant and infatuated people really believe that the stars have an influence which the astrologers can control.[517]

Bernier further mentions:

> The most ridiculous of these pretenders to divination was a half-caste *Portuguese,* a fugitive from *Goa.* This fellow sat on his carpet as gravely as the rest, and had many customers notwithstanding he could neither read nor write. His only instrument was an old manner's compass, and his books of astrology a couple of old Romish prayer-books in the *Portuguese* language, the pictures of which he pointed out as the signs of the *European* zodiac. *A ial Bestias, tal Astrologuo,* he unblushingly observed to the Jesuit, the Reverend Father Buze, who saw him at his work.[518]

This large assemblage of scholars and scholarship in medieval India was sustained through a well organized education system.

In *'ā'īn-i āmuzish* (regulations regarding education) Abul Fazl lays out the rules, curriculum and system of education to be followed in the schools:

[517] Bernier, *op.cit.*, pp. 243-44
[518] Ibid., p.244

In every country, but especially in Hindustan, boys are kept for years at school, where they learn the consonants and vowels. A great portion of the life of the students is wasted by making them read many books. His Majesty orders that every school boy should first learn to write the letters of the Alphabet, and also learn to trace their several forms. He ought to learn the shape and the name of each letter, which may be done in two days, when the boy should proceed to write the joined letters. They may be practiced for a week, after which the boy should learn some prose and poetry by heart, and then commit to memory some verse in the praise of God, or moral sentences, each written separately. Care is to be taken that he learns to understand everything himself; but the teacher may assist him a little. He then ought for some time to do daily practice in writing a hemistich or verse. (This way he) will soon acquire a current hand. The teacher ought especially to look after five things: knowledge of the letters, meaning of words, the hemistich, and the former lesson. If this method of teaching be adopted, a boy will learn in a month, or even in a day, what it took others years to understand, so much so that people will get astonished. Every boy ought to read books on morals (*akhlāq*), arithmetic (*hisāb*), the notation peculiar to mathematics (*siyāq*), agriculture (*falāhat*), mensuration (*masāhat*), geometry (*hindisah*), astronomy (*nujūm*), physiognomy (*ramal*), household matters (*tadbīr-ī manzil*), the rules of the government (*siyāsat-i madan*), medicine (*tibb*), logic (*mantiq*), physical sciences (*'ilm-i tabi'i*), sciences, and theological sciences (*'ilm-i ilāhi*), as well as history *(tārīkh)*, all of which may be gradually acquired. In studying Sanskrit, students ought to learn the *byākaran* (grammer), *Niyāi, Bedānta* and

> *Patājal*. No one should be allowed to neglect those things which the present time requires....[519]

This description of the mode of teaching in the schools (*madrasas*) at least makes it clear that atleast under Akbar (a) education was brought under state purview; (b) emphasis was on a method to impart comprehension rather than mere learning by the system of rote; (c) the thrust was on the topics other than religious sciences with almost all the known branches of sciences being emphased; and (d) the teaching of the non-Muslim wards and students were also taken care of.

Badauni also asserts this point when he laments:

> Reading of Arabic and its learning was looked upon as crime and *fiqh* (jurisprudence) and *tafsīr* (exegesis of the Quran), *hadith*, and their study was considered bad and disapproved of. *Nujum* (astronomy), *hikmat* (philosophy), *tārīkh* (history) and *afsāna* (novels) were cultivated and thought necessary.[520]

Emphasising the importance given to the non-religious curriculum and the fact that it was to be taught both to the Muslims and non-Muslims, Badauni at another place informs:

> In this year (995AH / 1586AD) it was ordered that all sections (*har qaum*) should give up Arabic sciences (*'ulūm-i 'arabi'yah*) and apart from the *'ulūm-i gharībah* (external sciences) like *nujūm* (astronomy), *hisāb* (mathematics), *tibb* (medicine), and *falsafah* (philosophy) should study nothing else. The date of this was found as *kasad-i fazl*.[521]

Schools appear to have been constructed on imperial orders since the reign of Humayun. Humayun had established a school at Delhi on the river bank in honour of

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[519] Abul Fazl, *'Ain-i Akbari*, ed. H. Blochmann, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1867-77, vol. I, p. 143.
[520] Abdul Qadir Badauni, *Muntakhab ut Tawārīkh*, ed., Ahmad Ali, Kabiruddin Ahmad & L.W.Nassau Lee, Bib.Ind., Calcutta, 1864-69, vol. II, pp. 306 – 7.
[521] *Ibid.*, II, p. 363

Zainuddin Khafi. Maham Anaga, the foster mother of Akbar opened a *madrasa* known as *Madrasa-i Begum* which was also known as *Khairul Manazil*.[522] It was a residential institute with students residing in the rooms of this double storeyed structure. The classes were held in the hall. At Agra, according to Badauni there was another great college being run in the hospice of the learned scholar Shah Mir.[523] There are numerous references to a *madrasa* meant for the royal princes and princesses being run inside the Imperial palace at Fathpur Sikri. Monserrate describes it when he mentions that Akbar appointed him to teach the royal wards.

Further impetus to the *madrasas* was given during the reign of Jahangir. On his accession, the edicts of his first regnal year mention that in case of the death of a person who died without an heir, the proceeds from his property would be utilized in good works like repair of mosques, wells, sarais and the running of schools.

Abdul Haque Muhaddith Dehlavi, the noted scholar of Jahangirs reign was educated in the '*Madrasa-i Dehli*' which according to him was about two miles from his house.[524]

During the reign of Shahjahan we get reference of two schools which were founded by him, one at Agra and the other in Delhi, in which the teachers were directly appointed by the emperor.[525] During his reign Lahore, Ahmadabad, Burhanpur, Jaunpur, Sirhind, Thanesar and Ambala emerged as important seats of learning and attracted a number of students from distant places.[526]

[522] *Ibid*, II, p.60
[523] *Ibid.*, III, p. 119
[524] Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddith, *Akhbār ul Akhyār*, Delhi, 1332 AH, p. 296
[525] Muhammad Sadiq, *Tabaqāt-i Shāhjāni*, MS. *Farsia Akhbar* University Collection, Research Library, CAS in History, AMU, Aligarh, MSS no.79,ff. 294, 295, 320, 324; See also Yusuf Husain, *Glimpses of Medieval Indian Culture*, Bombay, 1959, p. 29.
[526] Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, tr. With Introdn & notes by W.Irvine, Calcutta, (reprint), 1966-67, II, p. 424

During the reign of Aurangzeb an attempt was made to introduce free and compulsory education for the masses, but unfortunately the attempt was not successful. However as an experiment Aurangzeb ordered the opening of a *madrasa* to cater to the Bohras of Gujarat. Teachers were appointed and a system of monthly examination was introduced. It was further ordained that the result of the students would be communicated to the emperor for his personal assessment.[527] In Ahmadabad we hear of '*Langar-i Duāzdeh Imām*' established by Burhan Nizam Shah I for imparting the Shi'i learning.[528]

A large number of *maktabs*, and *madrasas* were also attached to the mosques and hospices where the scholars would assemble to impart education. Presumably these institutions were exclusively for the Muslim students.

The *maktabs* or schools in the urban centres were catering to both the Muslim and Hindu students. Miyan Shaikh 'Abdullah Badauni, a Hindu convert to Islam, as a young student prior to his conversion attended classes and studied such Persian texts as *Bustān-i Sā'dī*. Badauni mentions that one day when Miyan's teacher was teaching him a lesson from *Bustān* and came to a couplet in praise of the Prophet, for whom the word 'Chosen One' was used, he enquired from his teacher "What is the meaning of this couplet? Explain it to me in *Hindī*". The teacher enquired "What business have you (as a Hindu) with this *hikāyat* (story)?"[529]

During the reign of Shahjahan, Balkrishan Brahman 'as per the tradition of the family' was sent to study in the *maktab* of 'Abdul Majid, a teacher 'who had no equal in the city of Hisar'.[530] It was he who taught him how to write.[531] Under his guidance

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[527] Ali Muhammad Khan, *Mirat-i Ahmadi*, Baroda, 1928, vol.I, p.378
[528] *Ibid.*, I, p. 363.
[529] Badauni, *op.cit.*, III, pp. 54-55.
[530] *Letters of Jalāl Hisāri and Bālkrishan Brahman*, BM. MS. Add. 16859 (Rotograph in the Research Library, CAS in History, AMU, Aligarh), *f.* 97 (a)
[531] *Ibid.*, *ff.*65 (a) - 67 (b).

Balkrishan gained knowledge of Persian and expertise in its idioms and metaphors.[532] Balkrishan claims to have achieved competence in composing *inshā* at the early stages while he was still at the *maktab*. He boasts that the children of the *madrasa* and the street, due to his expertise, nicknamed him '*munshi*'. He learned his arithmetic and *siyāq* (accountancy) in the office of one of the *'āmil* and *hākim* (official) of Hisar.[533] He further brushed his knowledge of *inshā* as the *shāgird* (student) of Shaikh Jalal Hisari with whom he remained for nine years.[534]

Chandra Bhan Brahman was a student of Mulla Abdul Karim.

Shan Sarang Surat Singh, the author of *Tazkira-i Pīr Hassū Tēli*, a petty bureaucrat during the reign of Shahjahan was similarly educated and trained at Lahore by Abdul Karim, a scholar of that city. Abdul Karim tutored Surat Singh and made him study works of poets like Yusufi, Ja'mi, Amwari, and Khaqani besides teaching him books like *Tuhfat ul Ahrār Subhat ul Abrār, Akhlāq-i Nāsiri* and various other *maktūbāt* and works in prose and poetry.[535]

In Banaras, Thatta, and Multan there were schools led by Brahmins where both Hindus and Muslims were imparted education.[536] During the 18th Century we hear of Munshi Meghraj who corrected the drafts of Tahmas Beg Khan, when the later finished his diary in 1782.[537]

These *madrasas* and *maktabs* were generally day schools having two sessions with a recess in between.[538]

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[532] *Ibid., ff.* 97 (a) – (b).
[533] *Ibid.*
[534] *Ibid., ff.* 97 (b) – 98 (a).
[535] Surat Singh, *Tazkira-i Pīr Hassu Tēli*, MS., Research Library, Department of History, AMU, Aligarh, *f.* 120 (a).
[536] For their description (imparting 'vile learning') and ultimate destruction by Aurangzeb, see Saqi Musta'id Khan, *Ma'āsir-i 'Ālamgīrī*, Calcutta, 1870-73, p.81
[537] Tahmas Beg Khan, *Tahmās Nāma*, abridged & tr. P. Setu Madhava Rao, Bombay, 1967, p.153.
[538] *Akhbār ul Akhyār*, op.cit., p. 296

For the Hindus, Banaras was an important seat of learning. According to Bernier it could be considered as 'the general school of the *Gentiles*'. He in fact compares it and calls it as the 'Athens of India'. As he is comparing the Indian learning with Europe and fails to comprehend the indigenous method of teaching, he is constrained to comment that the town however 'contains no colleges or regular classes, as in our universities'. He goes on the mention that the eminent teachers took their classes with 'four disciples, others six or seven, and most eminent may have twelve twelve or fifteen'. These students would sit at the feet of their tutors 'in different parts of the town in private houses' and merchants' gardens in the suburb of the town for 'ten or twelve years', during which time 'the work of instruction proceeds but slowly'.[539]

He further says that this pursuit of knowledge 'entertains no hope that honours or emoluments' may be awarded to them at the end. The scholars' dietary wants were taken care of in the shape of '*kichery*, a mingled mess of vegetables' supplied by the rich merchants.[540]

Tavernier on the other hand describes a college established by Raja Jai Singh at Banaras near the Temple of Visvesvara. This college, he says, was meant for the education of the young men 'of good families'. The medium of instruction was Sanskrit:

> I saw the children of the Prince, who were being educated there by several Brahmans, who taught them to read and write in a language which is reserved

[539] Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire AD 1656-1668*, ed. A. Constable & revised by V. A. Smith, Delhi, 1983, p. 334
[540] *Ibid.*, p.335.

> to the priests of the idols (i.e. Sanskrit) and very different from that spoken by the people.[541]

Tavernier while describing this institution further says:

> ...throwing my eyes upwards, I perceived a double gallery which ran all round it (the building), and in the lower the two Princes were seated, accompanied by many young nobles and numerous Brahmans, who were making different figures like those of mathematics, on the ground with chalk.[542]

It is also interesting to note that Tavernier mentions that the college teachers had in their possession two globes, presented to them by the Dutch. Tavernier says that when enquired where France was 'I pointed out the position of France upon them'.[543]

Although there were not many separate colleges exclusively dealing with the medical sciences, as in Alleppo, Egypt or Iran, their existence is testified in India as well. Monserrate pointedly mentions 'a very famous school of medicine' at Sirhind, 'from which doctors are sent out all over the empire?[544] Abdul Baqi Nahawandi mentions the *madrasa* of Hakim Shams and Hakim Mu'in at Thatta, where they also gave lectures on medicine.[545] Similarly, Mir Abu Turab Gujarati, a contemporary of Akbar, had his own *maktab,* where he imparted education.[546] Abdul Hamid Lahori mentions a certain Hakim Mir Muhammad Hashim who used to impart instruction in

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[541] Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, *Travels In India* tr. V. Ball, second edition, ed. William Crooke, vol.II, New Delhi, 1977, II, pp. 182 - 83
[542] *Ibid.* p. 183
[543] *Ibid.*
[544] *The Commentary of Father Monserrate;* S.J *(on his Journey to the Court of Akbar),* translated by J.S. Hoyland, annotated by S.N. Banerjee, Calcutta, 1922, p. 103.
[545] Abdul Baqi Nahawandi, *Ma'asir-i Rahimi,* edited by Hidayat Husain, Vol.,II, Calcutta, 1931, p. 274.
[546] Shah Nawaz Khan, *Ma'asir-ul Umara,* edited by Maulvi Abdur Rahim, Vol.,III, Calcutta, 1888-90, pp. 280-81.

his own school at Ahmadabad.[547] Hakim Alimuddin Wazir Khan is said to have built a *madrasa* at his native town Chiniot in the Punjab.[548]

One may assume that in these schools run by the *tabibs,* the curriculum included a study of texts on *tibb.* This impression is strengthened by Abul Fazl's statement in *Ain-i Akbari,* that Akbar had directed the inclusion of *tibb* with the other sciences in the school curriculum.[549] The well-known *Nizami* course included, besides other texts, the following well-known texts on *tibb: Sharh-i Asbab, Mu'jaz alQanun, Qanun* of Abu 'Ali Sina, *al-Nafisi* and *Hidayah-i Sa'ida.*[550]

Another form in which education in *tibb* may have been imparted was through *dawakhanas* (dispensaries) and *sharbatkhanas* (syrup houses / distilleries), often run through state munificence.[551]

The most important centres of medical education during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, however, were located in Iran, from where many physicians in India were recruited.[552] A sizeable number of physicians of the Mughal period are said to have attained their knowledge from various academies in Lahijan (Gilan), Mashhad, Isfahan and Shiraz.[553] Mir Muhammad Hashim, better known as Hakim Hashim, who later became tutor to Prince Aurangzeb and had also opened his own

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[547] Abdul Hamid Lahori, *Padshahnama,* edited by Kabiruddin Ahmad and Abdur Rahman, I, ii, Calcutta, 1867, p. 345.

[548] *Ma'asirul Umara,* III, p. 936.

[549] Abul Fazl, *Ain-iAkbari,* translated and edited by Blochman, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1927, p. 279.

[550] Cf. Abdul Jalil, 'The Evolution and Development ofGraeco-Arab Medical Education', *Studies* in *History of Medicine,* Vol. 11, No. 3, September 1978; see also Hakim Kausar Chandpuri, *Atibba-i 'Ahad-i Mughaliya,* Karachi, 1960.

[551] *Ibid.* For state aid to dispensaries, see, for example, Maulana Abul Hasan, *Muraqq'at-i Hasan,* MS., Rampur Raza Library (transcript of MS. in Department of History, Aligarh Muslim University), pp. 330-31.

[552] See for example *Ma'asir-i Rahimi,* III, p. 46. Hakim Jibrail, a famous physician, who later joined the service of Abdur Rahim Khan-i Khanan while teaching at a *madrasa* known as *Darul Irshad* at Ardebil, heard people say that 'Iran was the *Maktab Khana* of Hindustan'.

[553] See *Ma'asir-i Rahimi,* III, pp. 44, 46, 51, 52, 745-55, etc. For example Hakim Fathullah Shirazi attained his knowledge at the *madrasa* of Mi Ghiyasuddin Shirazi, the reknowned hakim *of* Shiraz, and Khwaja Jamal uddin Mahmud and Maulana Kamaluddin at Shiraz. *Ma'asir-ul Umara,* pp. 100-01. For other such examples, see Muhammad Sadiq, *Tabaqat Shahjahani,* MS., Department of History Library, Aligarh Muslim University, p. 466. Saqi Must'ad Khan, Ma'asir-i *Alamgiri,* III, Calcutta, 1870-7, pp. 17, 50, 45-46.

madrasa at Ahmadabad, remained in the holy cities for twelve years to acquire knowledge. In India he was a student of Hakim Ali Gilani.[554] Similarly, the famous Gilani brothers attained their education in Iran before migrating to India.

There exists evidence suggesting that sometimes Indian scholars too went to these institutions in Iran for training and education in *tibb.* One such person was Ahmad Thattavi who went to Iran from Sindh and studied in Shiraz under the guidance of Mull a Kamaluddin Husain and Mulla Mirza Jan, two noted physicians of Shiraz; on completion of his studies he came back to India.[555] Muhammad Akbar Arzani, a noted physician under Aurangzeb and a native of Delhi, also went to Iran for further studies in *tibb.*[556]

A perusal of the Persian sources shows that medical education was tutor-oriented. Those desirous to learn would go to a reputed physician and get the education from him.[557] Thus Hakim Ali Gilani acquired his knowledge in the company of Hakimul Mulk Shamsuddin Gilani and Shah Fathullah Shirazi.[558]

Darush-shifa or shifakhanas (hospitals) were also run by the government, which employed physicians for the purpose. According to *Bahar-i Ajam,* these places were buildings *(makan)* established by the rulers and nobles for the treatment of the poor and needy *(ghuraba wa masakin).*[559]

In his twelve edicts of the first regnal year, Jahangir ordained the establishment of hospitals in all the great cities of the empire, where physicians were

[554] Lahori, *Padshahnama,* I, ii, pp. 345-46.
[555] *Ma'asir-ul Umara,* III, p. 263.
[556] *Yadgar-i Bahaduri,* BM. MS. OR. 1652, f. 96, as cited in *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts* in *the British Museum,* Charles Rieu, Vol. II, 1881 p.479.
[557] For details on medical education, see Abdul Jalil, 'Evolution and Development of Graeco-Arab Medical Education'; and A.H. Israili, 'Education of Unani Medicine during Mughal period', *SIHM,* Vol. IV, No. 3, September, 1980.
[558] Badauni, *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh,* edited by Molvi Ahmad Ali, Vol.III, Calcutta, 1869, p. 166. For other such examples see Khwaja Nizamudin Ahmad, *Tabaqat-i Akbari,* edited by B. De, Vol. II, Calcutta, 1931, p. 483; *Ma'asir-i Rahimi,* III, pp. 51-52; Lahori, *Padshahnama,* I, p. 346.
[559] Munshi Tek Chand 'Bahar', *Bahar-i Ajam,* 1739-40, litho. Nawal Kishore, Lucknow, *1336/1916,* Vol. II, p. 166.

to be appointed for healing the sick. The expenses of these hospitals were to be met from the *khalisa sharifa.*[560]

From a reference to a *madrasa* being attached to a *shifakhana,* it appears that these hospitals sometimes served as medical colleges of sorts.[561] During the reign of Shahjahan, a government hospital was constructed at Delhi near Chowri Bazar, 'for the treatment of the travellers and the students *(talib-i 'ilman)* who cured the sick'.[562] A reference to a 'school of medicine' at Sirhind has already been given, from where, according to Fr Monserrate, 'doctors are sent out all over the empire'. Monserrate was probably referring to a medical college. Another government hospital that flourished was the *darush-shifa* of Ahmadabad, where Shahjahan appointed Hakim Mir Muhammad Hashim as the head.[563] This hospital was meant for treating the poor[564] and Unani as well as Ayurvedic *(tibb-i hindi)* physicians and surgeons were appointed here. We hear of two more government hospitals, the *darush-shifa* at Aurangabad and the *darush-shifa* at Surat.[565]

Apart from government hospitals, hospitals could also be established by nobles. During Jahangir's reign; Saif Khan built a hospital complex at Jeetalpur comprising a mosque, a *madrasa* and a *shifakhana* which treated the poor.[566] During the same reign, Hakim Alimuddin Wazir Khan constructed a *madrasa* and a *darush-shifa* along with other buildings at his native town of Chiniot in the Punjab, and

[560] *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri*, I, p. 4.
[561] *Mirat-i Ahmadi* , edited by Nawab Ali, Vol. I, Baroda, 1972-78 I, p. 209.
[562] *Sairu'l Manazil*, p. 8. This *Darush Shifa* is probably the same which is referred to by Gopal Rai Surdaj (*Durul Ulum*, f. 45(b)).
[563] Lahori, *Padshahnama*, I, ii, p. 345.
[564] *Mirat-i Ahmadi* (supplement), pp. 186-87.
[565] For the hospital at Surat, see *Ruqqat-iAlamgiri*, Nizami Press, Kanpur, 1273 AH, Letter No. 125. See also *Surat Documents*, ff. 174(b), 175(a).
[566] *Mirat-i Ahmadi*, I, p. 209

dedicated those to the residents of that town.[567] A certain Hakim Muhammad Rafi opened a *hawaij kadah* (clinic) for the treatment of the poor.[568]

[567] *Ma'asirul Umara,* II, p. 936.
[568] *Muraqq'at-i Hasan,* Abul Hasan, MS., Riza Library, Rampur (Microfilm in Department of History, Aligarh Muslim University).

[Chapter III.ii]

Biography of a Mughal Historian: Shaikh Farid Bhakkari

[III.ii] Biography of a Mughal Historian:

Shaikh Farīd Bhakkari

Shaikh Farid Bhakkari, a contemporary of Jahangir and Shahjahan, was the author of the first known biographical dictionary of the Mughal *mansabdārs*, the *Zakhīrat ul Khawānīn*.[569]

Claiming descent from Caliph 'Umar,[570] Shaikh Farid belonged to a respected family of Bhakkar (Sind).[571] His father, Shaikh Ma'ruf Bhakkari was appointed the *s adr* of *sarkār* Bhakkar[572], soon after its fall to the Mughal forces sometimes after 978 AH / 1570-71 AD.

Though not much information is available regarding Shaikh Ma'ruf, it appears from a few references provided by Shaikh Farid that he was quite a well-educated person who enjoyed the confidence of his superiors. When Rai Lakhmidas Kāith, the *karori* of the *mahāls* of *sarkār* Bhakkar, which was under the *jāgīr* of Shaikh Farid Murtuza Khan Bukhari (d. 1612 AD), stopped the payments to the *a'immadārs* holding big *madad-i ma'āsh* grants, till they produced fresh *sanads* for the same, Shaikh Ma'ruf along Farid Bhakkari, interceded on behalf of the *imāms*. Shaikh Ma'ruf's influence paid off and Murtuza Khan reprimanded the erring *karori*; he also set aside four thousand *bīghas* of land under the charge of Shaikh Farid and his father and left it to the latter's option to allot lands to deserving people.[573] Shaikh Farid claims that his father was a man of sound judgement. When in 1595-96, the people of Bhakkar became disillusioned by the atrocities committed against them by the

[569] *Zakhīratul Khawānīn*, ed. Moinul Haq, Karachi, 1961-70, 3 vols.; Shahnawaz Khan, though erroneously gives the name of the author as Shaikh Ma'ruf Bhakkari, *Ma'āsir ul Umara*, Shahnawaz Khan, ed., Nadir Ashraf Ali, Vol.I, pt. i, pp. 8, 260

[570] *Zakhīratul Khawānīn*, op.cit., II, p.339

[571] *Ibid.*, I, p. 191; *Ibid.*, II, p.409

[572] *Ibid.*, I, pp. 2, 170, 198

[573] *Ibid.*, I, p.139

jāgīrdār of Bhakkar, Mir Abu'l Qasim, and lodged a complaint at the Imperial Court, the *jāgīrdār* went to consult Shaikh Ma'ruf, who advised him to buy off complainants. And thus Abu'l Qasim escaped the Imperial wrath.[574]

Shaikh Ma'ruf, we are told, was also a man of moral courage and sound character, and would not hesitate to speak a fact or make a prompt reply.[575]

Shaikh Farid's uncle, Miyan Shaikh Ish aq Faruqi Bhakkari was the *dīwān* and *wakīl* of Khwaja Nizamuddin Ahmad Harvi, the author of the *Tabaqāt-i Akbari*. He was holding these posts while the latter was in Gujarat. Shaikh Ish aq was also a friend of Mir Ma's um Bhakkari, the famous historian of Sindh. Both, Shaikh Ish aq and Mir Ma's um, had studied together at Bhakkar.[576]

Due to his reputation as a man of letters, Shaikh Ish aq was also employed for some time by Mirza Jani Beg as the tutor of his son Ghazi Beg.[577] Shaikh Farid says that his uncle Shaikh Ishaq along with Mir Ma's um Bhakkari also assisted Khwaja Nizamuddin Ahmad Harvi in the compilation of his *Tarīkh-i Nizāmi*.[578]

Amongst his other relatives, mention may be made of Saiyyid Abu'l Fath Dakhani, a noble of Jahangir, holding a *mansabs* of 5000 *zāt*. Shaikh Farid claims that he was a close relative.[579]

From the fragmentary and stray references that Shaikh Farid makes about himself, it appears that sometime before 1608-9 he married the daughter of a nephew of Akbar's famous noble, Shahbaz Khan Kanboh.[580] At that time he was posted as an *amīn* in Berar.

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574 *Ibid.*, I, p.198
575 *Ibid.*, II, p. 292
576 *Ibid.*, I, p. 201
577 Mir Ali Sher Qa'ani, *Tuhfat ul Kirām*, Karachi, 1959, p.395.
578 *Zakhirat ul Khawanin*, op.cit., I, pp. 208-9
579 *Ibid.*, II, p.187
580 *Ibid.*, I, p.158

Inspite of the absence of detailed information regarding the early education and training, Shaikh Farid however gives some information about his teachers. When Mir Abu'l Qasim Namakin was the *jāgīrdār* of Bhakkar, Shaikh Farid learnt the art of versification and penmanship (*nazm wa khat*) from him.[581] Mulla Mustafa Jaunpuri was one of his early teachers.[582] He mentions that for a week he had also sat in the company of Mulla Thattavi, a man of some repute, who, in Shaikh Farid's opinion, was, however, weak in *fiqh* (jurisprudence).[583]

The literary acumen of Shaikh Farid Bhakkari is reflected in his simple and straightforward style, as well as the presence of the chronograms pertaining to the death of important persons, which he had himself composed.[584] Apart from compiling the *Zakhīrat-ul Khawānīn*, Shaikh Farid also authored a book *Tārikh-i Hazrat Shāhjahāni wa Tuhfa-i Sarandāz Khāni*,[585] which was an account of the family of I'timad-ud Daula.[586] This does not appear to be extant. Shaikh Farid was also given to composing poetry. When a noble, Rashid Khan, the grandson of Pir Rushanai, fell from a horse, Shaikh Farid wrote a *tazmīn* on a *rubāi* of Anwari.[587] Another of his couplets refers to Muhammad Khan Niyazi, a courtier of Jahangir.[588]

Apart from his knowledge of Persian, Shaikh Farid was well versed in Arabic. He also seems to have been fluent in Pushto and '*Hindavi*' (Hindi). *Zakhīrat ul Khawānīn* is full of indigenous terms and sometimes even Hindi proverbs have been quoted. For example in his biographical notice of Nawwab Saiyid Ja'far Shuja'at Khan Baraha, he writes:

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[581] *Ibid.*, I, p. 200
[582] *Ibid.*, II, p. 286
[583] *Ibid.*
[584] For example see *Ibid.*, I, p.18; II, pp. 46, 172, 173 etc.
[585] It is not clear whether this was a long title of one book or two, *viz.*, *Tārikh-i Hazrat Shāhjahāni* and *Tuhfa-i Sarandāz Khāni*
[586] *Ibid.*, II, p. 14
[587] *Ibid.*, II, p. 228
[588] *Ibid.*, II, p.260

"He was extremely kind to this humble writer of this compendium, Shaikh Farid Bhakkari. He used to say, 'There is a Hindi saying *ghar ghar mīt ne-kar, sakhi ek gaon ek mīt*! The Persian translation of this is: Don't make friends in every house, you should have one friend in one village...."[589]

Some of the other Hindi proverbs used by him are, "*āg lagantī jhonprā, jo bach jāi lābh*" (When a hut catches fire, whatever survives is gain)[590]; "*kahān tak bakhān karūn Audat Rāmdās, Tērē dēbē māl-kū hamal hairat hain* (How much can I sing your praises, O Ramdas (son of) Audat? The (amount) of money you have bestowed, even the porters are amazed!)[591]; "*badē bāp se hot hain, badē bāp ke pūt*" (Great men have great offsprings).[592] Similarly while introducing Shahnawaz khan, the son of Abdur Rahim and the grandson of Bairam Khan, he writes a Hindi couplet: "*dāde sē saras bāp, bāp sē saras āp; mahābali Beram ke bans* (*vansh*) *ko sobhāve hai*!" (The father is superior to the grandfather, you better than the father; you are adorning the house of the valiant Bairam!).[593]

Among the Hindi (*hindavi*) words used by Shaikh Farid we have *pūt* (son), *chhāgal* (water jug), *khand* (portion or part), *pudi* or *pudia* (paper packet), *baghār* (an Indian practice of heating spices in oil and then putting it in the dish being prepared), *karhāi* (frying pan), *chehla* (mire), *manihār* (bangle maker), *od hnī* (head cover, the *dupatta*),*dhoti* (loin cloth), *lūng* (a *lungi*), *tālāb* (pond), *kora* (whip), *khichri* (a rice and pulse preparation),*jotik* (science of astronomy), *janm-patra* (horoscope) etc.[594]

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[589] *Ibid.*, III, p.15
[590] *Ibid.*, I, p.139
[591] *Ibid.*, I, p.239
[592] *Ibid.*, I, p.241
[593] *Ibid.*, II, p. 213
[594] See for example, *Ibid.*, I, pp. 69, 73, 119, 124, 138, 144, 145, 148, 160, 171, 202, 203, 204, 212, 223, 229, 230, 244; II, pp. 28, 29, 100, 101, 102, 104, 146, 162, 166, 296, 351, 374; III, pp. 24, 54, 107, 119 etc

We do not know the exact year in which Shaikh Farid Bhakkari joined Mughal service. His initial appointment as the *wakīl* of Abu'l Fath Dakkhani seems to have taken place sometime before 1592.[595] Akbar, around this time had awarded *mansabs* to him, his sons and relatives. At this time he had been given the rank of 65 *sawārs*. Shaikh Farid complains that he was not happy at the award of such a low *mansabs* and he says that he went back to his native town.[596] But soon afterwards we find him as the *nāib* (deputy) of Mirza Hidayatullah, the *bakhshi* and *wāqi'a nigār* of *sūba* Allahabad. During this period the *faujdār* of that place was Abu'l Fath Dakkhani.[597] In 1592-93 he mentions himself as the *dīwān* of *Sūba* Bir in the Deccan[598] when he was, as he claims, instrumental in getting the wife of Khiluji Bhonsle Maratha released by delivering the required sum of one lakh *huns* to the *sūbedār*, Mahabat Khan.[599] But it seems he remained in the Deccan for a very short period only.

In 1605, when Murtuza Khan Bukhari was the *sūbedār*, Shaikh Farid held the office of the *dīwān* of the *sūba* Gujarat.[600] At this port he did not remain for more than a year.

In 1606-07, Shaikh Farid mentions himself as the *faujdār* of Lucknow under Khwaja Baqa, the nephew of 'Abdullah Khan and a sister's son of Mahabat Khan.[601]

Soon, in 1608-09, he joined the service of Khan-i Dauran Khwaja Sabir 'Ali Nasiri Khan, the *sūbadār* of the Deccan, who treated him very kindly. Shaikh Farid writes:

"(He)....cared so much for the author of this book, Shaikh Farid Bhakkari, that this servant was protected from transfers and paucity of *jāgīrs* and *mansabs*...."[602]

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[595] *Ibid.*, II, pp. 174, 284-85, 378
[596] *Ibid.*, II, p.285
[597] *Ibid.*, II, p.377
[598] *Ibid.*, I, p. 173; III, pp. 12, 132. Incidentally Bir was not a *sūba*, but only a *sarkār*.
[599] *Ibid.*, III, p.137
[600] *Ibid.*, I, p.137
[601] *Ibid.*, II, p.352; See also I, p. 238

On the very first day of his joining service of Khan-i Dauran, Shaikh Farid was made the *amīn* of 32 *parganas* in Bijagarh. That very year, he was shifted to the *mahāls* of *sūba* Berar where also he was made an *amīn.*[603] It seems that the post too did not remain with the Shaikh for long, as during the same year, Muhammad Husain Gilani, the *dīwān* of Berar, is reported to have confirmed Sundardas Gujarati in this post.[604]

Sometime in 1610, Shaikh Farid joined the army of Khan Jahan Lodi and was present in his expedition to the Deccan.[605] During this period he was the *bakhshi* of the Khan. The latter appears to have treated him very kindly for Shaikh Farid calls him his benefactor.[606]

In 1614, Shaikh Farid was appointed by Emperor Jahangir, as *dīwān* of the *jāgīr* of Nurjahan Begum[607], a post which he held for a long period. After a gap of five years, that is in 1619, when Jahangir made his first visit to Kashmir, we find our author at Baba Hasan Abdal.[608] Whether he had accompanied the emperor to that place or was present from before, is not made clear to us.

In 1628 we find him again in the service of Khan-i Jahan Lodi as his *bakhshi-i kul.*[609] During his tenure, Shaikh Farid says, Rs.30 lakhs were collected per annum from Khan-i Jahan's *jāgīr*, while the annual expenditure was Rs.24 lakhs. The balance of Rs.6 lakhs was reserved for other contingencies.[610] At another place he says that a sum of Rs.3 lakhs per month was spent on Khan-i Jahan's establishment. The Khan, Shaikh Farid says, put so much trust in him, that he never checked the monthly

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[602] *Ibid.*, III, p. 23
[603] *Ibid.*, I, p. 158; II, p.337-38; III, p.23
[604] *Ibid.*, II, pp. 337- 38
[605] *Ibid.*, II, p.85
[606] *Ibid.*, II, p. 166
[607] *Ibid.*, I, p. 122. though in vol.II, p. 392, he mentions that in 1022 AH / 1613 AD he was the *dīwān* of Nurjahan. See also, *Ibid.*, II, pp. 216, 300, 382
[608] *Ibid.*, II, p.23
[609] *Ibid.*, II, pp. 174, 264, 307
[610] *Ibid.*, II, p. 166

account pertaining to the expenses on cavalry, establishment and treasury, and the assessed and realized revenue from the *mahāls* of the *jāgīrs*.[611] Shaikh Farid narrates at great length the factors for the dissatisfaction of Khan-i Jahan Lodi with Shahjahan.[612] He tells us how the Imperial court enticed the servants of Khan-i Jahan to abandon him by conferring *mansabs* on them.[613]

In 1630, after the rebellion of Khan-i Jahan Lodi was crushed, Shaikh Farid took the service of Asaf Khan.[614] Afterwards he joined Mahabat Khan's service. Initially Shaikh Farid was given the *mansabs* of 100 *zāt* and 30 *sawār*; within a short period of three years it was enhanced to 300 / 100.[615]

Mahabat Khan also granted him the posts of *dīwān*, *bakhshi*, *amīn* and *wāqi'a nawīs* of *sūbā* Bir in the Deccan.[616]

In 1632 when Mahabat Khan was appointed the *sūbedār* of Deccan and Shahjahan honoured him with the bestowal of a *khil'at* and advanced him a sum of Rs.5 lakhs at Bagh-i Dehra, Shaikh Farid was in the company of the Khan.[617] On taking charge, Mahabat Khan warned the merchants to sell the grain at the fixed rate of ten *sers* per rupee. Shaikh Farid collected grain worth Rs.4 lakhs on the same rate at Bir.[618] With the help of 5000 Rajput *sawārs*, he says, he also collected fodder worth 50 lakh copper coins.[619] In 1634-35 when the news of Mahabat Khan's death reached the court, his son, Khan-i Zaman was appointed as the *sūbedār* of Deccan. Till his arrival, Khan-i Dauran, who was in Malwa, was asked to officiate as the *sūbedār*. Shaikh Farid, who held the charge of *dīwān*, *bakhshī*, *wāqi'a nawīs* and *amīn* at Bir,

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[611] *Ibid.*, II, p. 115
[612] *Ibid.*, II, pp. 88, 89, 98, 99 etc.
[613] *Ibid.*, II, p. 93
[614] *Ibid.*, II, p. 307
[615] *Ibid.*, II, p. 169
[616] *Ibid.*
[617] *Ibid.*, II, pp. 144, 145
[618] *Ibid.*, II, pp. 146, 154
[619] *Ibid.*, II, p. 146

along with Saf Shikan Khan, the son of Saiyid Yusuf Khan Rizvi, who was the *thānadār* of that place, went to meet Khan-i Dauran and gained his confidence.[620] It seems that Shaikh Farid held these posts till 1642.[621]

In 1642, Shaikh Faid joined the service of Sarandaz khan Qalmaq, the *jāgīrdār* of Dalmau. He was appointed to the office of *wakīl-i mutlaq al- i'nān* (agent with absolute authority) of this noble. Shaikh Farid boasts that this was done so to bring prosperity to the former's *sarkār*. He was extended a salary of Rs.1000/- per month with no deductions, as well as Rs.2 daily for food. He was given unrestricted powers and full responsibility of the *sarkār* of Sarandaz Khan Qalmaq.[622] Though Shaikh Farid says, he performed his duties well, still he complains of the Khan's unkindly attitude towards him, which he held were due to the complaints of the Khan's former servants who were jealous of him.[623]

Apart from the above mentioned positions Shaikh Farid Bhakkari had also held for some time the office of *amīn* of the twelve *parganas* of Pathri, in the vicinity of Nander.[624] At another place, he says, that for a few years he held the post of *amīn* of *pargana* Dewi in Fathpur 'half of which was in the *jāgīr* of Saiyid Nurul A'yan.'[625] Shaikh Farid had also been appointed on some revenue assignment in the *khālisa parganas* of Muhammad Sharif Mu'tamid Khan, the *bakhshi*, during his term as *faujdār* of Lucknow.[626] While dealing with the biography of Jaswant Rai Khatri, Shaikh Farid also mentions his assignment at the Imperial Court at Agra to assess the accounts of *sūba* Bir.[627] After the transfer of Baba Mirak, the son-in-law of Lashkar

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[620] *Ibid.*, II, p.166
[621] *Ibid.*, II, p.306
[622] *Ibid.*, III, p.56
[623] *Ibid.*, III, p. 49
[624] *Ibid.*, II, pp. 228, 348
[625] *Ibid.*, III, p. 84
[626] *Ibid.*, II, p. 253
[627] *Ibid.*, III, p. 86

Khan, Shaikh Farid says, he had been appointed the *qile'dār* of the Fort of *Anki Banki* (Ankai Tankai?).[628] Unfortunately for these appointments, he does not provide any dates. At one place he also refers to himself as having been in the service of Abul Fath Dakhani as *wakīl*, when the later was posted in Kumbhalgarh.[629]

Finally in January 1649, Shaikh Farid was appointed to the post of *amīn* and *wāqi'a nawīs* of a dozen fortresses in the Deccan, where till the completion of his book, i.e., 1651, he remained posted.[630] These fortresses are specified as Galna, Dharab, Jaulahar (Jaula), Ahwant, Ajlagarh (Achlagarh), Chandaur, Rajdhar, Anhrai (Injarai), Ankai Tankai, Trankawari, Trimbak, Harpas (Haresh?) and Karank.[631]

Shaikh Farid Bhakkari concludes his *zakhīra* in the year 1651 and thus we are not informed as to his further appointments or date of retirement.

As far as his religious views are concerned, we find Shaikh Farid appears to be a man free from conservative biases generally associated with orthodoxy. He comes out to be a person, who if not a believer of Imamiya creed, was at least a *tafzīlī* (a believer of the ascendancy of the Prophet's Household). It is interesting to note that unlike other writers of the age, he nowhere in his book ever mentions the first three Pious Caliphs of Islam. On the other hand, we find him repeatedly invoking the blessings of the *ahle bayt* (the house hold of the Prophet). Among the honorific titles of the reigning emperor, Shahjahan, he includes "incarnation of *Imam Sāhib ul 'Asr* (the Living Imam of the age i.e. the 12th Imam of the Shi'ites)".[632] At one place he refers to 'Ali, as '*Hazrat Asad ullah-il ghālib amir al mu'minīn 'Ali ibn abi T ālib*' (the honoured mighty lion of God, Commander of the faithful 'Ali, the son of Abu

[628] *Ibid.*, III, p. 100
[629] *Ibid.*, II, p.174
[630] *Ibid.*, III, p. 39
[631] *Ibid.*
[632] *Ibid.*, I, p. 4; III, pp. 1, 98

Talib).[633] While dealing with the virtues of Mir Mahmud Bakhshi, he writes that he was 'endowed with the virtue of Muhammad's humanity and the generosity of the *chosen* 'Ali.'[634] He in fact mentions the conversion of Mahabat Khan to Shi'ite creed in a very approving manner and points out that before his conversion to *ithna 'ashari* faith (Twelver Shi'ism), 'he was not stable as far as religion is concerned'. He writes:

"In the beginning he (Mahabat Khan) did not consistently adhere to any creed or religion but towards the end of his life, he had adopted *ithna 'ashari* creed. On twelve precious jewels he had (got) engraved the worthy and illustrious names of their holinesses of high station, the twelve innocent (*māsūm*) Imams, may Allah's salutations and peace be upon all of them. He wore these round his neck and on a large piece of felt cloth he had got knitted the names of the innocent Imams and used to put it on his head..."[635]

Further, we find him claiming the discipleship of a divine, Miyan Shah Jalal Gujarati, a known Shi'i, who was also the *s adr us s udūr* (the chief *S adr*).[636]

Shaikh Farid Bhakkari also appears to have held much faith in contemporary Sufi saints. He writes that his father was a disciple of Mir 'Abdullah *Mushkīn Raqm*. When Qazi 'Imad, the son of a Turani noble, built a big house near that of Mir 'Abdullah at Agra, the privacy of the latter's house was shattered. Mir 'Abdullah then sent Shaikh Farid to ask the Qazi to make changes in the building. But the latter misbehaved. Shaikh Farid then says that the saint prophesied that after a year 'neither shall I be living in my house nor you in your splendid mansion.' This prophesy, Farid says, came true and both the holy man and the Qazi died within six months.[637]

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[633] *Ibid.*, II, p.164
[634] *Ibid.*, III, p. 38
[635] *Ibid.*, II, pp. 171-72
[636] *Ibid.*, III, p.30-31
[637] *Ibid.*, II, pp. 400-01

Shaikh Farid's regard for the Suhrawardi saints can be discerned from his wish to carry on repairs and extensions of the Tomb of Shaikh Baha'uddin Zakariya at Multan. While writing about the construction carried out by Nawab Qulij Khan Turani at that tomb, he laments:

"The author of this compendium, Shaikh Farid Bhakkari, had always wished that this honour of the repairs of the *rauza,* which is so near the native town of this servant, should have fallen to his lot because he is so closely connected with that great family (*khānwāda*) through faithand devotion. But this servant could not get that privilege."[638]

Shaikh Farid was also deeply influenced by Shaikh Junaid of Pattan, the chief disciple of Shah Wajih uddin of Gujarat. He speaks with great reverence about one of the 'miracles' of Shaikh Junaid. He says that when Mirza Fathpuri, the son of Mirza Shahrukh, threatened to kill the Shaikh after returning from a hunting expedition, the Shaikh had coolly replied that the Mirza would not be able to return safely, and if he did, he would not survive even for a night. True to the saint's words, that very night when Mirza returned, he was killed by thieves. Shaikh Farid says that Sahikh Junaid then attended the funeral.[639]

Shaikh Farid also mentions the humane attitude of the Chishti saints and lauds them for it.[640]

But then sometimes Shaikh Farid also shows an intolerant streak in his character. At the time when he was the *bakhshi-i kul* of the *sarkār* of Khan-i Jahan Lodi, he was told by Abdullah Khan Firuzjung that he had beheaded more than two lakh Hindus and the heads had been pinned atop spears ' as to make a double-rowed pillared way from Patna to Agra'. Although on the one hand he disapproved of this

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[638] *Ibid.*, III, p. 67
[639] *Ibid.*, II, pp. 319-23
[640] *Ibid.*, II, pp. 326-27

act calling it an 'abominable deed', yet he appears more perturbed that in such a wholesale massacre many Muslims too might have been killed.[641] However it is noteworthy that in the 'abominable deeds' of Abdullah Khan Firuzjung, he also includes his boast of causing the conversion of the poor Hindus who had been enslaved and sold by the Khan.

Like a devout Muslim, whenever he writes about the death of some Hindu noble, he generally ends with a description of the horrors of hell. In case the deceased Hindu had done some good, he prays for the reduction of his sins and punishment (*'azāb*).[642]

It would appear that Shaikh Farid had already served Mughal government and its nobles continuously for fifty years when he completed his biographical dictionary in 1651. He includes more than 550 Mughal nobles, scholars and bureaucrats in his *Zakhīra tul Khawānīn*. This work is a testimony to the large number of officials he met and the enormous information he was able to collect about them during his long period of service.

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[641] *Ibid.*, *II*, pp. *184-85*

[642] See for example *Ibid.*, III, p.87

[Chapter III.iii]

Judges, Lawyers and Civil Law

[III.iii] Judges, Lawyers and Civil Law

Administration of Justice under the Mughal rule has attracted much attention of the Modern scholars, who have, however, mainly studied the judicial set-up and the criminal law of the Mughal state.[643] The question of Civil Law, as practiced, as well as the practitioners of this law has not received its proper due.

Under the Mughals there were two agencies in the *suba* to administer justice. One was the *subadar* who acted on the judicial powers delegated to him by the Emperor. In his absence, the *diwan* was the chief judge.[644] The second was provincial *qazi*, to whose court the religious and civil cases would be mostly handed over.[645] Arif Qandhari refers to yet another officer, *shahna-i 'adalat*, who were appointed in all the provinces under Akbar.[646] But this term does not appear in any of the documents under discussion. The *qazi* of the *suba* was appointed by the Emperor under the seal of the *qazi 'al-quzzat* (the chief *qazi*).[647] Sometimes a complaint against the judgement of a *qazi* could be directly taken up by the chief *qazi* on receipt of a formal complaint of wrong judgement or of justice denied.'[648] Under Aurangzeb, the court of the *qazi* was supposed to function from morning (*do ghari*) to evening (*zuhr*) on five days in a week, with Friday being a holiday.[649] Sometimes the *faujdar* would also be

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[643] See for example B.S. Jain, *Mughal Administration of Justice in 17th Century India*, Delhi,1920; Wahed Husain, *Administration of Justice during Muslim Rule in India*, Allahabad,1936; Muhammad Akbar, *Administration of Justice by the Mughals*, Lahore, 1948; M.B. Ahmad, *Administration of Justice in Medieval India, 1266-1750*, Aligarh, 1961; Rafat M. Bilgrami, *Religious and Quasi-Religious Departments of the Mughal Period, 1556-1707 AD*, New Delhi, 1984.

[644] R. Orme, *The Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire*, New Delhi, 1974, p. 284.

[645] Ali Muhammad Khan, *Mirat-iAhmadi*, I, Baroda, 1927, pp 277-83, 309; *Mirat-iAhmadi* (Supplement), p.174.

[646] Arif Qandhari, *Tarikh-i Akbari* ed: Imtiyaz A. Arshi, Rampur, 1967, p. 99.

[647] *Mirat-i Ahmadi*, Supplement, op.cit., 1930, pp. 179, 199, 261; *Selected Documents of Aurangzeb's Reign*, ed. Yusuf Husain, Hyderabad, 1958, pp. 30-32.

[648] *Mirat-i Ahmadi*, op.cit., I, p. 309.

[649] *Ibid.* I, p. 275

required to help the *qazi* in disposal of the petitions.[650] The Qazi could also be assigned the job of undertaking revenue surveys of the various provinces of the empire. Thus in 1591, according to Abu'l Fazl, Qazi Nurullah Shustari was sent to Kashmir to enquire into the complaints regarding the revenue administration.[651] Describing the legal system under the Mughal Empire Pelsaert mentions in every city there was a '*kachhari* of royal court of Justice' where the 'Governor, the Diwan, the Bakhshi [*faujdar*?], the Kotwal and other officers' sat together 'daily or four days in the week'.[652] The local Qazi not only acted as a judge, he also performed as a registrar, a reporter, a teacher as well as a religious head.[653] He was a registrar as much as his seal was necessary on all kinds of legal documents.[654] In cases where the general people had to appeal to the emperor or higher authorities, it was the Qazi who would forward the the papers under his seal and testimonials.[655]

In the case of a district and *pargana* level Qazi, a salary of 8 *annas* (half a rupee) per day and some revenue free land was generally fixed.[656] If the Qazi was holding the charge of more than one place, his cash salary could go up to Rs.8 per

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[650] *Ibid.*, I, pp. 256-7; For a detailed study of the working of the Court of Justice (*diwan-i qaza*) see Rafat M. Bilgrami, *op. cit.*, Chapter V.

[651] Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*, Calcutta, 1881-86, Vol.III, p.595.

[652] Pelsaert, *Remonstratie* or *Jahangir's India*, p.57

[653] For a detailed analysis of the functions and jurisdictions of a Mughal Qazi see Rafat Bilgrami, *Religious and Quasi Religious Departments*, op.cit., pp.99 - 142

[654] See for example the Cambay Documents, NAI / 2695, no. 1 – 40; *NAI, 2702*, Batala Documents, in JS Grewal, *In the By-Lanes of History: Some Persian Documents from a Punjab Town*, Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla, 1975.

[655] Gopal Rai Surdaj, *Durrul Ulum*, Bodlein, Walker no.104, (Rotograph, Research Library Department of history, AMU, Aligarh), *ff.* 44 (b) – 45 (a), 48 (a) – (b) etc.; *Bilgram Documents*, Research Library, Deptt.of history, no.7, 27; Ziauddin Shakeb (ed.), *Mughal Archives*, Central Archives, Hyderabad, vol. I, p. 326

[656] *Selected Documents of Shajahan's Reign*, pp. 189-91; *Selected Documents of Aurangzeb's Reign*, pp.15-16; Abul Qasim Namakin, *Munsha'at-i Namakin*, Nawal Kishore, n.d., f.97 (b); for villages being assigned to the Qazis and their rent collection see also Manucci, IV, p.215

day.[657] Frequently we also hear of the corrupt practices of the Qazis who tended to gratify themselves through illegal means.[658]

A civil suit, while being filed in a court of law would first enumerate the name or names of the (*muqir*) and then try to establish the rights (*huquq*) and claims (*istihqaq*) of the seller or owner (*malik*) over the property (*milk, imlak* (plural); *mamluka*) with the help of the testimony (*shahadat*) of at least two witnesses (*shahid, gavah.*)[659] This right of ownership, in case of ancestral property (*wirasat*), was established primarily by tracing the claim of succession (*wartha' / irth*) from the first owner down to the present one. If the actual owner had died, the fact was clearly stated and the property was defined as *mal-i matruka.*[660] In case of a property recently bought, the fact was attested by putting forward the letter of purchase (*khat-i kharid*) along with the name and signatures of witnesses.[661] In some cases, to be on a safer side, the description (*huliya*) of the deponent[662] and the witnesses[663] was also mentioned on the margins of the legal document being presented in the court. Although the Islamic law is explicit that for the purpose of testimony and evidence, the testimony of two male Muslim witnesses was essential,[664] yet at least in Gujarat, it appears that the Mughal judicial machinery was satisfied even if the two witnesses were non-Muslims.[665] The importance of the witnesses can be gauged from the testimony of Abul Fazl, who writes that it was the obligation of the *qazi* to examine

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[657] *Selected Documents of Aurangzeb's Reign*, pp.30-32; NAI, no.1498
[658] See for example, Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, I, pp.190 -91; Pelsaert, pp.57-58 atc.
[659] See for example *Cambay Doc*, I, no. 5 & 6; *Cambay doc*, II, 13,14, 15, 18 etc.; *Baroda doc*, op. cit, p. 87; *Surat documents*, ft 193 (a), 207 (b) 208 (a); *Persian Documents, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Itali* (Microfilm in Research Library, Centre of Advanced Study in History, AMU, p. 10). (henceforth, *Vatican Documents*).
[660] *Cambay doc*., I, no. 4; *Cambay doc*, II 3, 16, 17; *Baroda doc*, however do not provide the *huliya* of the deponents.
[661] E.g. *Cambay doc*, II, 2, 8, 12, 13, 14, 15, 24, 26.
[662] *Cambay doc*., I, no. 4; *Cambay doc*; II, 3, 16, 17; *Baroda doc*, however do not provide the *huliya* of the deponent.
[663] *Cambay doc*., II, 13, 14.
[664] Burhanuddin Ali bin Abu Bakr Marghinani, *Hidaya*, Hamilton, London, 1870, II, pp. 353-63.
[665] *Cambay doc*, II, 13 ,. 14.

each witness separately upon the same point before reaching a conclusion.[666] However Manucci refers that in Mughal Empire there was no dearth of false witnesses and forgers. It was possibly for this express reason that the *huliya* of the deponent would also be sometimes noted.[667] Describing the ingenuity of the false witnesses Manucci writes:

...kingdom is overrun with men whose only profession is to act as false witnesses or to forge signatures. These wretches assume a most modest attitude and attire, so that they impose upon people. They wear the clothes of penitents, having long beards, hold a chaplet constantly in their hand, and as they tell their beads, are forever mumbling a prayer. Such men are greatly in fashion, because they seem to be conforming to the king's intentions yet the whole country is full of the disorder that these hypocrites have sown in families by their vile false-hoods. For in this vile science they possess all imaginable skill and acuteness.[668]

These fornicators, Manucci says, could fabricate documents and evidence for a consideration. Even the magistrates were not free from this vice and would for a few thousand rupees, of which they demanded at least one-third in advance, adjudicate the case the disputes.[669]

Before any business could be transacted, the deponent or the vendor had to establish his mental and physical soundness and his right sense (*sihat-i nafs wa sabat-i 'aql*). He had also to testify that his affirmation was voluntary and of his own accord (*ta'i'an wa raghebatan*) and was being entered into without any overt or covert

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[666] Abul Fazl, *Ain-i Akbari*, ed. Blochmann, Calcutta, 1867, I, p. 283. See also Surat doc, f.203 (a) from which it appears that in case the original decree was lost, the second could be drafted only after the testimony of the original witnesses.
[667] This noting of the *huliya* of the deponents appears confined to Gujarat, as so far, this tradition has not been found prevalent in the document of other regions.
[668] Manucci, III, p.249
[669] *Ibid.*, III, p.250

pressure (*bila ikrah*).[670] Care was thus being taken to ensure that no further dispute over ownership would arise once the document had been prepared and legally witnessed.

As far as the property (*milk, hissa, nasib*) was concerned, steps were taken to ensure that no ambiguity should remain. The first step in this direction was to make an inventory of all the assets -- the number of rooms, verandahs, court yards, wells and tanks (*hauz*) along with proper measurements. Sometimes even the trees growing on the property were also recorded.[671] Mention was also made of the material used in construction of the structures. The type of bricks (*khisht*) or wood used in the construction were specified. The identification of the property was not complete without a mention of the proper demarcation of the four boundaries (*hudud-i arba*) with the identification of the adjoining structures. Along with the four boundaries, the direction of the main entrance, water-ducts, and sewerage were also described. To remove any further ambiguity, quite frequently the outlines (*naqsha*) of the structure were also given at the end or the middle of the document.[672]

Care was taken to mention the price or value of the property in dispute as clearly as possible. After mentioning the full amount in words, its half (*nisf*) was also stated to ensure that no further confusion arose.[673]

At the end of the documents, the signatures and marks (*alamat-i dastkhat*) of the vendors, vendees (*mushtari*) and the witnesses [with their testimony 'we testify' (*gawah-shud*)] were affixed.[674]

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[670] See, for example, *Cambay doc*, II, no.1. Almost all the documents fulfil this legality. For a similar legal procedure compare with the *Batala documents*, op. cit., where yet another term *ba rizamandi-wa khushnudi* (voluntary agreement and pleasure) was applied. This term, however, is missing in our documents.

[671] See, for example, the *hibanama* (gift-deed) of the property of Santidas Sahu, reproduced in M.A., Chaghtai, "A Scroll of Shahjahan's Reign", *Journal of Asiatic Society of Pakistan*, XVI, no. 1, 1971, Dacca, pp. 68-74.

[672] *Cambay doc*, II, no. 27, 32, 33, 40; *Baroda doc*, p. 90; *hibanama* of Santidas Sahu, op. cit., p. 75, *Surat doc*, f 19 (b)

[673] *Baroda doc*, op. cit, p. 88, *Vatican Documents*, p.10.

A property could be alienated through a sale (*ba'i*), gift (*hiba*) or exchange (*mubadala*). A partial alienation was generally through mortgage (*rahn, girhvi*). In the case of a sale, the *bai'nama* (sale-deed) very explicitly mentioned that the *muqirr* or *maqrun* (persons making the deposition of their own behalf or as representative of some one) had sold or alienated their demarcated property along with the entire right (*jama'-i huquq*) therein and that this sale (*bai' wa farokhtan*) was legally correct (*sahih-i shar'i ja'iz*), and that the said property was free from all obligations (*khali az shurut*) of the previous owners who hence forfeited all type of rights (*dakhiliya wa kharijiya*) and the sale was absolute (*wa la shatat wa iqrar*). Both the parties also pledged in writing that no change (*inheraf*) would be effected thereon. On receipt of the stated value from the purchaser, a release letter (*farigh khati*) was drafted and a receipt (*qabz al wasul*) was handed over to the purchaser by the seller. After all the legalities had been formalized, a letter of purchase (*khat-i kharid*) was drafted and given to the new owner of the property. No case of dispute was allowed to arise after a period of q*iran-i shar'i*, that is 30 years, of the settlement.[675] This means that there was a Law of Limitation in force.

In case of a gift, a *hibanama* (gift-deed) was to be prepared, and then endorsed from the court (*mahakma-i 'aliya shari'a*) before coming into effect. Somewhat similarly drafted, the deed was to be very specific about the act being a voluntary gift. In return the legatee (*mauhub/mauhubat*) had to accept the same and make a noting that he had taken charge of the said property (*dar qabz wa tasarruf-i khud*).[676]

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[674] For the marks, see *Cambay doc*, I, no 4, 5, 8; *Cambay doc*, II, no. 1, 3, 6, 28, 29, 30,31, 32, 33, 34, & 36.
[675] *Vatican doc*. p. 10
[676] *Cambay doc*., II, no. 7, 8, 10, 26; *hibanama* of Santidas, op. cit.

The alienation of a property could also take place through an *iqrarnama* (an acceptance deed) through which the deponent would declare his intention to forfeit his claim over a property in favour of a second person.[677]

In the case of the sale of a property, the right to pre-emption (*da'wa-i shifa'*) was also recognised. This meant a first right to purchase the property in dispute, which was to be tested in the court of a *qazi* who after going into the merits of the case would either accept or reject the claim.[678] But in case of an agreement or acceptance of a claim, yet another deed known as *La-da'wa* had to be prepared.[679]

If the property was mortgaged (*rehn*), it could be either for a specified period[680] or till the amount for which it was mortgaged was paid back. During the period of mortgage, the mortgager could reside in it on payment of an agreed rent.[681] The deed of mortgage (*rehn-nama, girvhi-nama*) would also specify that in case of repairs needed during the period of mortgage, which of the two parties would bear the responsibility.[682]

To help the civic population to deal with the legal process the profession of the lawyer appears to have started developing during the 17th Century. It was in 1671, that Aurangzeb formally appointed *wakil-i shar' i* (lawyers) in all the towns and *subas*.[683] While attending the court of the *qazi*, they were entitled to draw from the state a sum of Rs. 1/- as daily allowance.[684] According to Khafi Khan and Muhammad Sadiq, the author of *Tarikh-i Shajahani*, these lawyers were also expected to hear the plaints of

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[677] *Cambay doc.*, II, no. 25.
[678] *Ibid.*, II, no. 33.
[679] Ibid., II, no.2,4,29, *Surat doc*, f 199(a).
[680] *Cambay doc.*, II, no. 19.
[681] Ibid, II, no. 28.
[682] Ibid, II, no. 19, 28; *Surat doc*, f. 200 (b) - 201 (a)
[683] Khwafi Khan, *Muntakhab ul-Lubab*, Calcutta, 1925, II pp., 249, 253; Mohd. Sadiq Khan, *Tarikh-i Shahjahani* (Rotograph in Deptt. of History, AMU), f. 148 (a)-(b).
[684] *Mirat-i Ahmadi*, (Suppl.), op. cit., p. 174.

those people who could not reach the court.[685] Probably it was their responsibility to represent the case of the people whose case they had undertaken. The tradition of recruiting or appointing a "*wakil*" by the litigants appears to have been prevalent from an earlier date.

The earliest evidence for the appointment of a *wakil* from our documents of Gujarat is of 1621 when a husband authorised his wife to be his *wakilah*.[686] But the term appears in the sense of a 'representative', and not a lawyer. The sense of a representative is again reflected in yet another document dated 1629, where a mother appointed her daughter as her *wakil* over her property, she was then given the right to either mortgage or sell the house as per her wisdom and need.[687] By 1629, it appears, the practice of recruiting a lawyer had also come into vogue. From a document dated to this year, we come to know that a legal decree would be prepared in the court of a *qazi* through the intervention of a *wakil*.[688] From this year onwards we start getting a large number of letters of appointments of *wakils* (*wasiqa-i wakalat* or *wakalat nama*).[689] It is interesting to note that the letter of appointment of the *wakil* would also some time delineate the physical features (*huliya*) of the *wakil* concerned. Thus in a *wakalat nama* dated 12th June 1665, submitted to the court of the Qazi at Aurangabad mentions the *wakil* Shaikh Abdur Rahim son of Shaikh Darya as wheatish in complexion (*gandum gūn*), sporting a broad forehead (*farākh pēshāni*), high eye-brows (*kushāda abrū*), small eyes (*mēsh chashm*), sharp nose (*buland bīnī*), black moustaches and beard, of medium height and approximately 45 years of age.[690]

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[685] Khwafi Khan, *Muntakhab ul-Lubab*, op.cit., II pp., 249, 253; Mohd. Sadiq Khan, *Tarikh-i Shahjahani*, op.cit., ff. 148 (a)-(b)
[686] *Surat doc*, ff.207 (a)-(b).
[687] *Ibid*., ff. 202 (a) - (b).
[688] *Ibid*., ff. 202 (b) - 203 (b)
[689] For example, *Ibid*. ff. 198 (b), 202(a) - (b), 203 206 (a) - (b), 211 (b).
[690] *Selected Documents of Aurangzeb's Reign*, pp.49-50

On the basis of the information which we get from our documents, we can divide the *wakils* into a number of categories. In case of the deponents being more than one in a case; the responsibility of *wakalat* would sometimes be given to one of them, who would then represent the others in the court and fight the case.[691] Sometimes it was the husband who would act as the *wakil* of his litigant wife, and fight the case on her behalf.[692] Old women and mothers could also have their sons fighting their legal battles as their *wakils*.[693] At other times a person could act as his own *wakil*, as well as the *wakil* of yet another relative.[694] In 1692 we find three men acting as *wakil* on behalf of their sister in the court of the *qazi* of Cambay.[695] A rare case of a sister acting as the *wakil* and arguing the case in the court on behalf of her brother is from 1748.[696] In all these cases cited above, the *wakil* was in one way or the other related to the litigants or deponents.

But then we have references to the appointment of person as *wakil* who appear to be in no way related with the litigants. Thus in 1639, we have the evidence of a certain Haji Ibrahim Ibn Haji Ahmad, who was appointed *wakil-i shar'i* of the property of the late Muhammad Amin with a brief to locate and examine the properties of the late owner wherever it may be and take possession (*qabz*) of it. [697] In the same year one finds Madho Khatri, son of Narain, being appointed *wakil* of Mst. Bubu.[698] Incidentally, according to Manucci, the Shaikhzadas being 'very litigious' were great lawyers.[699]

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[691] *Cambay doc*, I, no. 6; *Cambay doc*, II, nos. 10,17.
[692] *Cambay doc*, II, no. 5, 29; *Surat doc*, ff 200 (b)-201(a).
[693] *Cambay doc*., II, no. 2, 20.
[694] *Ibid*., II, no. 16.
[695] *Ibid*, II, no. 12.
[696] *Ibid*. II, no. 30.
[697] *Surat doc*., f. 203 (b).
[698] *Ibid*. f. 200 (a); See also, *Ibid*, ff. 198 (b), 219(b), 220(a); *Cambay doc*, II, no. 4 etc.
[699] Manucci, II, p.427

In one of his entries dated 10th *Shaban* 1138 AH (13th April 1726) Itimad Ali Khan deals with a case entitled "Itimad Ali Khan, son of Late (*marhum*) Itimad Khan *on behalf of* Sidi Yaqut Ghulam versus Jagdish *Baqqal*, son in law of Sri Ramjiv". Itimad Ali Khan, it appears was representing the case of the heirs of Sidi Yaqut who had expired and whose property had been usurped by the accused, Jagdish *Baqqal*. Itimad Ali Khan says the lost the case as the *munshi* involved had taken a bribe of Rs.500/- from the *Baqqal* .[700]

The *wakil-i shar' i* would sometimes also be appointed as the *wakil-i mutlaq* and *qaim-muqam* that is agent with absolute powers. In 1640, Mirza Sadiq was assigned these positions with the legal right of not only enquiring and examining (*akhaz wa istifsar*), but also to seize and taken into his charge a sum of money embezzled by the defendant. In lieu of his endeavours and travels incurred during the trial, he was promised legal expenses and fee.[701]

Thus it appears that the civil suits could be filed, argued and fought on behalf of the deponents by two kinds of representatives. The simple representative or agent named for the occassion as *wakil* or by a professional or semi-professional lawyer (*wakil-i shar'i*). The case could be argued and filed by the litigant himself as well, but then he would testify in the court that he had come "on his own, without any representative" (*bila khasm wa la naib ba ism wa nasab-i khud*).[702]

Interestingly enough it appears that the forms of the Islamic legal system were also observed by the Brahmins and Baniyas. A number of legal documents from Gujarat which are drafted in Gujarati, generally begin with the usual affirmation "*Shri*

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[700] Itimad Ali Khan, *Mirat ul Haqaiq*, Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS. Fraser Collection, no,124 (Microfilm in Research Library, Department of History, AMU), *f.* 397 (b)
[701] *Surat doc*, f. 206 (a) - (b); also *Ibid*, f. 211(b).
[702] *Surat doc*, f. 193(b), 195(a).

Ganeshaya-namah", and do not carry the seal (*muhr*) of the *qazi.*[703] However, generally the Persian Documents mostly bear the *sarnama* "*Alif*", "*Allah-ho akbar*" or "*huwalghani*" as well as the seal of a *qazi*. Even amongst the documents in Gujarati, S.C.Misra was able to locate a statement to the effect that there would be no objection on the vendor's part if the transaction was registered formally in the office of the *qazi.*[704]

It is only in one document that we find the seal of a *mufti.*[705] But this being a copy (*naql*) of a *tamassuk* (a legal document of transaction), the *mufti* was probably only attesting the authenticity of the copy and not stretching his brief to interfere into the matters of civil law. However, the case could be referred to the court of the *mufti* for the legal opinion was sought, could be taken to the *mufti* by any of the parties concerned. From our documents it appears that even non-Muslims would not hesitate to seek the legal opinion of the *mufti*, who basically occupied a religious office.[706] As per the legal opinion of the *mufti*, a case could be re-opened or rejected.

The question which arises at this juncture is whether the Mughals imposed the *shariat*, the Islamic law on their non-Muslim subjects. Or, were the latter free to practice their own rules and regulations?

The Quran is explicit as far as the settlement of disputes between the non-Muslims is concerned. According to it the followers of the various faiths were to be judged according to their own beliefs and laws.[707] But if they approached the Muslim court of law, it was ordained: "If thou judge, judge in Equity between them. For Allah Loveth those who judge in equity".[708] The Muslim jurists too recommend the same.[709]

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[703] *Baroda doc*, op. cit., 88.
[704] *Ibid.*
[705] *Cambay doc*., II, no. 11.
[706] *Fatwa* of Maulana Siddiq, *Mufti* of Surat, see *Vatican doc*, p. 10
[707] *Quran*, *Sura* V (*Maida*),Verses 42-51, tr. Abdullah Yusuf Ali.
[708] Ibid. V, 45.

Badauni informs us that Akbar had appointed *pundits* to administer justice.[710] He also appears to have given the Hindu *panchayats* a formal place in the judicial system.[711] Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar mentions certain Sanskrit judgements dating back to the reign of Akbar.[712]

That the non-Muslims were not subservient to the Muslim law is further made clear from a *farman* of Shajahan issued in 1634 regarding the Madan Mohan temple of Brindavan, Mathura. In this *farman*, Shahjahan not only refers to the worship taking place in the temple as '*ibadat-i ilahi*' (divine worship) but also refers to Hindus as *khuda parast* ('God worshippers'). While allowing the sounding of the gong as part of worship in that temple, Shahjahan nowhere mentions the *Shariat* (Islamic Law) to justify this act of tolerance.[713] Writing in 1759, Orme corroborates this view when he says that the various sects of the "Gentoos" (Hindus) in India were left free to follow their own religion and observances.[714] Mughal policy is more explicitly stated in the *Fatawa-i Alamgiri* that "Non-Muslims (*zimmis*) of a Muslim state were not subject to the laws of Islam. Their legal relations were to be regulated according to the precepts of their own faith".[715]

Almost all of our documents testify that the *brahmins* and *baniyas* preferred to approach the court of the *qazi*. Thus we have a copy of the court judgement (dated 27 February 1675) recording that Hira Ram son of Dharmanand came to the court of Qazi Muhammad Arif Anbiya and Qazi Mohuammad Anwar in the *kachehri* of Islamabad (Mathura) to fight a case for the possession of his single-storeyed house

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[709] *Hidaya*, op. cit., II, 518-35.
[710] Badauni, *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Calcutta, 1864, p. 356.
[711] Monserrate, p.183; For the *panchayat* and its acceptance down to the reign of Aurangzed, see *Bilgram Documents*, op.cit., nos. 21, 26.
[712] Sir J.N.Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, 1954, p.101
[713] Brindavan Documents, no.21,see Tarapada Mukherjee and Irfan Habib, "The Mughal Adminstration and the Temples of Vrindavan during the Reigns of Jahangir and Shahjahan", *PIHC*, Dharwad, 1988, pp.287 – 99.
[714] Robert Orme, *Historical Fragments*, op. cit., pp, 280-81.
[715] *Fatawa-i Alamgiri*, tr. S. Amir Ali, ed. A. Rehman, Lucknow, 1932, II, p. 357.

situated in the market area. The respondent in the case was also a Hindu, a certain Arjun who had taken the disputed house on rent but was now relinquishing it. The judgement records that during the case, that one of the judges himself went to the site to investigate the matter. And ultimately the matter was settled in favour of the plaintiff through the witness of Rattu Misr and six other.[716]

Secondly, a majority of them invoke provisions of the Muslim law *shara' / shari'at*. In fact, in one of the *hibanama*, dated 24 September 1684, the gifter, a *brahim*, warns the violator of the deed that by doing so, he would be "going against the sacred *shara'-i sharifah*".[717] Was this an allusion to the *shariat*, the Islamic law or just the law of the country? Another document, a *La-dawa*, help us reach an answer. In April 1736, Mirza Muhammad Taqi filed a suit on behalf of his wife, Bel Bai, who had converted to Islam, to get a share in the property of her deceased father, 'as per the shara'. Nathi, the women's mother declined, saying that as her daughter, Bel Bai, had converted to Islam, the demand could not be acceded to. The dispute was handed over to the *'ulama* (doctors of law) who gave the ruling that to give the share would be in contravention of the faith (*din*) as the law of succession (*wirsa*) does not apply to her. In view of this, Bel Bai had to withdraw her claim, and ultimately, due to the intervention of 'certain individuals', a sum of Rs. 10/- was given to her by the mother in view of her 'poor condition'.[718] The proceedings of this case, recorded under the seal of Qazi Muhammad Ma'sum *'Khadim-i Shara-i Sharif'* suggest that the term *shara* connote "law" and not necessarily "Islamic law". The invocation of the *shara* was meant to be understood as "rule of law", which once entered into, had not to be violated. It was perhaps this same "law", which was dictated by the customs and

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[716] NAI, no.2671 / 13; see also NAI, no. 2695 / 2; For other such cases see *Waqa'i Ajmer*, pp. 22-24, 35
[717] *Cambay doc*, II, no. 7; See also *Vatican Documents*, p. 10. The same terminology is applied while dealing with the Muslim litigants, see *Cambay doc*, II, no. 10, 22, 23, 34; *Surat doc*, f. 193 (a) - (b), etc.
[718] *Cambay doc*, II, no. 29.

traditions of the Non-Muslims, of which Manrique writes in his account of his passage through Orissa.[719]

[719] Fray Sebastian Manrique, *Travels, 1629-1643*, Oxford, 1927, II, pp. 108-114; For a similar reference see Francois Bernier, *Travels in Mogul Empire*, 1656-68, tr. A. Constable, 2nd ed., 1968 (reprint, 1983, Delhi, p. 306.

[Chapter III.iv]

The Qazis of Bilgram: A Middle-Class Family of Scholars and Bureaucrats under the Mughals

[III.iv] The Qazis of Bilgram:

A Middle-Class Family of Scholars and Bureaucrats under the Mughals

Much interesting light is thrown on the conditions of a typical bureaucratic and scholarly family of Bilgram by the author of *Sharaif-i Usmani*, which was compiled in the second half of the eighteenth century. The author of this biographical work was Shaikh Ghulam Hasan Siddiqui Farshuri, who had the *takhallus* (nom de plume) 'Samin'.[720] It deals with the history of a family of Qazis of the town, who trace their origin from Caliph Usman and claimed to have come and settled in Bilgram during the reign of Sultan Mahmud. The author provides authenticity to his work by reproducing the copies of various *farman*, *parwana* and *sanad* issued to the various members of that family by the Mughal Emperors and the nobility.[721] These documents deal not only with the ownership or their alienation, but also throw light on the various offices conferred upon the members of this family.

We are told that the first person in this family to hold the office of Censor and Qazi (*ihtisab* and *qaza*) was Qazi Mohammad Yusuf bin Mohd Asim.[722] He had two sons, Zahiruddin and Qazi Shamsuddin.[723] It was through the later that the Usmani family of Bilgram traces its origin. We are told that Qazi Shamsuddin was a contemporary of Sultan Qutbuddin Aibak.[724] Qazi Shamsuddins' grandson was Qazi

[720] *Sharaif-i Usmani*, MS. Department of History Research Library. AMU. f. 173 (a); For a brief description see Iqbal Hussain, "Sharaif-i Usmani - A rare manuscript of the 18th Century", paper presented at Khuda Bakhsh Library, Patna in 1988.

[721] Six of these documents have been annotated by Irfan Habib in his "Aspects of Agrarian Relations and Economy in a Region of Uttar Pradesh during the 16th Century", *IESHR*, Volume IV, No. 3, Sept 1967 pp. 205-32.

[722] *Sharaif-i Usmani*, f. 29a.

[723] *Ibid.*, 1. 34 (a).

[724] *Ibid.*, f. 37 (b).

Abdul Kafi popularly known as an Allama,[725] who had four sons,[726] two of whom, viz. Qazi Mubarak Muhtasib and Qazi Mahmud Allahdad are important from our point of view. The office of the *pargana* Bilgram was inherited by Qazi Allahdad,[727] whose son Qazi Abdul Daim, a contemporary of Babur, took up the office.[728] He had a *kuniyat* of Abul 'Alam and had died sometime after 1531.[729] His eldest son Qazi Abul Fath better known as Qazi Kamal after his father's death took up the office of *qazi*. The second son, Shaikh Abdul Hay entitled *Danishmand* inherited the seat of his father, while the youngest son, Shaikh Bayazid took up the profession of a teacher and busied himself in imparting education.[730]

From this stage a fairly authentic history of the family can be reconstructed. Qazi Kamal was born in 1511,[731] and was around twenty years of age when he succeeded his father as the *qazi* of *pargana* Bilgram. It was during his tenure as *qazi* that we come across the first feud in the family. Since Qazi Allahdad's time the office of the *muhtasib* (Censor) had been held by Qazi Mubarak and his sons.[732] To the great discomfort to the *muhtasib*, Oazi Abd Samad, the grandson of Qazi Mubarak, now Qazi Kamal began to interfere in the fanctioning of that office as well. Qazi Mubarak collected general testimony about the usurpation of his authority and in 1570 appealed to Akbar, who ordered Qazi Kamal to his presence. Qazi Kamal reportedly reached Agra along with Qazi Abdus Samad and after mediations it was mutually agreed that

[725] *Ibid.*, f. 40 (b).
[726] *Ibid.*, f. 44 (a).
[727] *Ibid.*, f. 44 (a).
[728] *Ibid.*, f. 50 (a)-(b), 52 (a).
[729] *Sharaif* though gives his year of death AH 937/1520 (f.52(a)) but on ff. 55 (a) – (b) the author reproduces a sale-deed dated 15 *Muharram* 938 / 29 Aug. 1531 of a piece of land by Qazi Abdul Daim, which would mean that the Qazi might have died not before this date.
[730] *Sharaif*, ft. 53(b), 54(a).
[731] *Ibid.*, f. 55(b).
[732] *Ibid.*

of whatever came by way of *aqdana* (marriage-fee), 1/3rd would go to Qazi Abdus Samad and 2/3rd to Qazi Kamal.[733]

In 1593,[734] that is, within a year of Qazi Kamal's death, Akbar is said to have issued a *farman* of *ihtisab* reiterating the office of the *muhtasib* in the name Qazi Abdus Samad, the grandson of Qazi Mubarak.[735]

In these endeavours Qazi Abdus Samad had taken the help of a certain Allahadad Siddiqui Farshuri who now manipulated through Allami Shaikh Faizi and managed to get Qazi Kamal dismissed and himself assume the Qaziship.[736] Thus for a few years the office of the *qazi* was lost to the Usmanis of Bilgram. Qazi Kamal had to leave Bilgram and settle in Rajgir.[737]

The new appointee Qazi Allahadad Farshuri, could be removed only after Qazi Mahmud, the second son of Qazi Kamal, went to the Imperial Court and with the help of certain 'influential people' impressed upon Akbar to return the ancestral post to his father.[738] Thus in 1592 the Qaziship of *pargana* Bilgram was restored to Qazi Kamal through an Imperial *farman* after a gap of a few years.[739] Soon afterwards Qazi Kamal died at the age of eighty-four years.[740]

For a period of twenty years after this the office of the *qazi* of *pargana* Bilgram remained in the hands of Qazi Barh, the third son of Qazi Kamal, who officiated for his elder brother Qazi Makarim who was more popularly known as Qazi Bhikhari.[741] Ultimately in the year A.H. 1025 / 1616 AD, Qazi Mahmud again made

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[733] *Ibid*., f. 56a.
[734] *Ibid*., ff, 143(b), 144(a).
[735] *Ibid*., f. 61 (b)
[736] *Ibid*., ff. 56(a)
[737] *Ibid*., f. 57(a).
[738] *Sharaif*, ff. 56(b)-57(b), 109(b)-111(a).
[739] '*Farman* of Akbar', dtd. 12 July 1592, *Sharaif*, ff. 57(b)-58(a).
[740] *Sharaif*, f. 66(b).
[741] Ibid., f. 67(b).

use of his influence and got a *farman* issued in the name of Qazi Bhikhari.[742] Qazi Bhikhari is reported to have died in AH 1091/1680.[743] The office of the *qazi* was now taken over by Qazi Bhikari's eldest son, Qazi Sadruddin. Ultimately Qazi Mahmud managed a *farman* of appointment from Shahjahan in favour of Qutbuddin's second son, Qazi Mohd Yusuf, entitled Abul Adil,[744] who died on 5th *Ziqada* 1084 AH/Feb 1674.[745] The office of the *qazi* was now held by his eldest son Qazi Muhammad Fuzail, a scholar of repute who died at a young age of 28 years.[746] He was succeeded by his younger brother Qazi Muhammad Salim, who ultimately handed over the charge to his late brother's son Qazi Muhammad Hafiz who began to perform the duties 'as per the rules of the *shara'* of the Holy Book, the traditions of the Prophet, Caliph All and other companions'.[747] Ultimately Qazi Muhammad Hafiz died in AH 1123/1711 after performing the duties of *qazi* for 31 years.[748]

The mantle of the *qazi* of the *pargana* now fell on the shoulders of Qazi Muhammad Nasir, the second son of Qazi Fuzail who died within five years of taking charge.[749] The post now passed on to his eldest son, Qazi Muhammad Ahsan, who by now was 50 years in age.[750] Qazi Ahsan appears to have been quite well-off. It is reported that he spent not less than Rs.5000/= on the marriages of his sons and daughter, apart from having performed the marriage ceremonies of many other relatives. We are told that he took care of about a hundred relatives who were dependent on him.[751]

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742 *Sharaif* ff. 68(a)-(b).
743 *Ibid*., f. 68(b).
744 *Ibid*., ff. 69(b), 71(a), 75(a).
745 *Ibid*., f. 75(b).
746 *Sharaif*, f. 79(a).
747 *Ibid*., ff. 80(a), 97(a).
748 *Ibid*., f. 80(b).
749 ibid., f. 81(a).
750 *Ibid*., *f. 81*(b). *He was born in 1109 AH/1697-98 Ibid f. 94*(b).
751 *Ibid*., ff. 81(b)-82(a).

His tenure of 28 years was quite eventful. Twice he had to leave his charge and proceed to the court[752] on account of the alleged resumption of *madad-i ma'ash* and *a'imma* lands during the *subadari* of Nawab Burhanul Mulk Sa'adat Khan in Awadh, who took this step as a punitive measure against the local *rajas* and their followers. The local *amil* and the *diwan* started interfering into the affairs of the family of the *qazi* and imlrisoned some of them. Open hostilities broke out between the *faujdar* and Qazi Ahsan. This conflict went on for a period of seven years and ultimately the Qazi was forced to proceed to the court of Muhammad Shah.[753] On way to Shahjahanabad, Qazi Ahsan petitioned Nawab Mohd. Khan Bangash, the new subadar of Allahabad to help him meet the Emperor. The Nawab, at that time, had himself become a victim of the court intrigues, and had irritated the Emperor. Thus he asked the Qazi to leave his office and join him on a monthly endowment of Rs.300/-.[754] Qazi Ahsan declined and decided to approach the Emperor directly. While the Emperor was returning from the Idgah after offering prayers, the Qazi managed to draw his attention at a great risk to his own safety and handed over his petition against Burhanul Mulk along with a plea to transfer *pargana* Bilgram into the *jagir* of the Prince Ahmad Shah. The Emperor acceded to the prayer.[755] After this the Qazi went to the house of his uncle Ruhul Amin Khan where Rai Har Narain, the *wakil* of Burhanul Mulk, pleaded with him not to get the *pargana* transferred to the *jagir* of the Prince. In return he promised to order the *amil* of *pargana* Bilgram to release the *a'imma* and *madad-i ma'ash* which had been resumed, get the prisoners released and bring back all the relatives of the Qazi who had fled the area in terror. All this he

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[752] *Ibid.*, ff. 81 (b)-88(b), 93(b)-94(b). For a some what different account of the resumption orders see Azad Bilgram, *Ma'asir-ai Kiram*, ed. Abdul Haq, Agra, 1910, pp. 222-23.
[753] *Sharaif*, ff. 82(a), 130(b)-131(a).
[754] *Ibid.*, f. 83(a).
[755] *Ibid.*, if. 83(b)-85(a).

promised to accomplish in a period of twelve days. After much reluctance, the Qazi agreed and returned to his charge.[756]

But within a year, with the appointment of a new *amil*, the *a'imma* and *madad i ma'ash* in the *pargana* were again resumed. The Qazi protested, but the new *amil* demanded to be shown the *parwana-i mu'afi* for the exemption, as the *a'imma* and *madad-i ma'ash* of the entire suba Awadh still remained resumed.[757]

In this manner a full year was wasted, and in disgust the Qazi once again decided to go to the Imperial Court to get the *pargana* transferred in the Prince's *jagir*. In this trip he was accompanied by the, *mufti* of Bilgram, Shaikh Rahmatullah and a saint, Shah Tayyab. whose *a'imma* lands also stood resumed. For this journey the Qazi had to borrow Rs700/- as loan from Shaikh Allahyar, a descendant of Qazi Barh, son of Qazi Kamal.[758] On the way, near Akbarabad (Agra), the Qazi came across his cousin Shaikh Rahmatullah who persuaded the Qazi to meet Mubarizul Mulk Sarbuland Khan under whom Burhanul Mulk, the cause of all this trouble, had previously been.[759] After much argument by the relatives in this contingent, the Qazi agreed to meet the Nawab, on whose strong recommendations, Burhanul Mulk had the *parwana mu'afi* prepared not only in the case of Bilgram, but for the entire *suba*.[760] Thus, the Qazi returned triumphant to *pargana* Bilgram.

The tenure of Qazi Ahsan witnessed two attempts to dislodge him from his office. The first aborted attempt was made by Rahmat Ali, a resident of village Nawil, *pargana* Bangarmau, who through the *Sadrus Sudur* got a *sanad* of *qazi*-ship of pargana Bilgram issued in his favour.[761] But Qazi Hasan did not let him take up the

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[756] *Ibid.*, ff. 86(a)-(b).
[757] *Ibid.*, f. 86(b).
[758] *Ibid.*, f. 87(a).
[759] *Ibid.*, ff. 87(b).
[760] *Ibid.*, ff. 88(a)-(b).
[761] *Ibid.*, f. 92(a).

position. The second attempt was made sometime around 1748 was a result of the intrigues of certain officials of *suba* Awadh alongwith the *faujdar* of Bilgram against Qazi Ahsan due to his unbending attitude in meeting the justice.

A suit was filed In the court of Qazi Ahsan regarding a dispute over ownership of a piece of land in the *pargana* between Mir Ghulam Jilani, the *mukhtar-i kul* and the *khan-i saman* in the contingent of Mir Muhammad Salam Baraha, and a *qalandar* (mystic) who was the *mujawir* (attendant) of the tomb of Khwaja Imaduddin. The petitioner, Mir Ghulam Jilani was not only a friend of the local *faujdar* but had relations with Maharaja Nawal Rai, the deputy of Safdarjung in *suba* Awadh.[762] The Qazi decided the case in favour of the *qalandar*, who reportedly produced *sanad* under the seal od Qazi Abdul Daim. The *faujdar* countered it by bringing forward another *sanad* in favour of Ghulam Jilani , which on a closer scrutiny was declared by Qazi Ahsan as a forged document. The faujdar even tried to manipulate the situation through misreprenting the case before the *naib-subedar*, Nawal Rai. The Qazi would still not change his decision.[763] When all attempts to pressurise the Qazi failed, Ghulam Jilani started intrigues in order to dislodge the Qazi. A few years before this there had arisen certain differences between Qazi Ahsan and his younger brother Muhammad Raushan over the sharing of income.[764] Qazi Ahsan had been giving Muhammad Raushan only a third part, while the later had been demanding half the share. Muhammad Salah Khan, in whose contingent Ghulam Jilani was employed, influenced Safdarjung to agree to have a *sanad* of *qazi*-ship conferred upon Muhammad Raushan.[765] Te Mir went to the extent of telling Qazi Ahsan that the proceedings of getting a *sanad* in favour of of Mohd. Raushan could be stopped if the

762 *Ibid*., f. 89(a).
763 *Ibid*., ff. 89(b)-91(a).
764 *Ibid*., f. 91(b)
765 *Ibid*., ff. 91(b), 93(a)-(b).

Qazi agreed to favourably deal with Ghulam Jilani.[766] But Qazi Ahsan did not agree to give his judgement in favour of Ghulam Jilani. Instead he proceeded to Delhi along with one of his sons to get a *sanad* in favour of his second son Usman Ahmad, better known as Qazi Ahmadullah.[767] Ultimately Qazi Ahsan succeeded in his mission, and the intriguers were humiliated,[768] and the *faujdar*, Mir Baqir Ali was ordered to accept the Qazi's decisions and not to supersede his authority.[769] This matter lasted for 3 years; and now Qazi Ahsan handed over the charge to his son Qazi Ahmadullah. Qazi Ahsan ultimately died at the old age of 78 years in 1779.[770]

II

Though the family profession of the Usmanis was the performance of the judicial office (*qaza*), they took other professions: after all at one time the office could be held by only one of them. Thus we have examples of the Usmanis being *jagirdar*, *zamindar*, *risaldar*, *bakhshi*, etc., apart from being scholars, poets, calligraphists, teachers and mystics. Interestingly enough larger and larger number of this family began entering into the service of the state in the second half of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Yet some of the family members even rose to the lower ranks of the nobility as early as the reign of Akbar. Thus we have the example of Qazi Mahmud, the son of Qazi Kamal, who is alleged to have reached the peak of his career during the reign of Akbar. He was given the title of Zia-ul Mulk and had the *pargana* of Lakhnau, Sirharpur and Bilgram in his *jagir*.[771] During the reign of

[766] *Ibid.*, f. 93(b).
[767] Ibid., f. 91(b).
[768] *Ibid.*, f. 92(b)-93(a).
[769] *Ibid.*, f. 94(a).
[770] *Ibid.*, 1. 8.4(b). *He was born in 1697-98.*
[771] *Ibid.*, f. 108(b).

Jahangir he was despatched to Persia along with the Embassy of Khan-i Alam to the Court of the Safavids. From a *farman* of Emperor Jahangir, dated 3 February 1616 and reproduced in the *Sharaif-i Usmani*, we come to know that the Emperor considered Qazi Mahmud to be his *nadim* (companion) and confident.[772]

At a time when Khan-i Alam was proceeding to the Safavid Court as an Ambassador of Jahangir, one of the members of his Embassy, Shaikh Jamal died. Khan-i Alam wrote to the Emperor for a replacement. Jahangir then nominated Qazi Mahmud on the basis of his being not only a person known to him since his prince-hood but also due to the fact that he had an expert eye as far as the purchase of precious stones like rubies and other goods like horses were concerned.[773]

The author of the *Sharaif* informs us that Qazi Mahmud had once been sent by Emperor Akbar as well as *'ilchi'* (Ambassador) to the Safavids.[774]

Qazi Mahmud appears to have been interested in erecting buildings, for we are informed of various structures constructed under his orders at Lucknow, Sirharpur and Bilgram. He is also said to have established a locality each at Lucknow and Bilgram which were known as Mahmud Nagar after his name.[775]

At the time of his death, sometime during Shahjahan's reign, he held *jagir* in Lahore as well.[776]

Qazi Mahmuds nephew and Qazi Bhikhari's third son, Abdul Hayy is also to have been a *muqarrab* (confident) of Emperor Shahjahan and à master of eight elephants.[777] He is alleged to have spent Rs.50.000/- over the construction of a *sarai,*

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[772] Ibid., f. 108(b).
[773] *Ibid.*, f. 108(b).
[774] *Ibid.*, f. 111(a).
[775] *Ibid., f. 109(a).*
[776] *Ibid.*, f. 111(a).
[777] *Ibid.*, f. 106(a).

haveli, a mosque and a few wells at Bilgram.[778] *Sharaif* contains a document (dated 10 March, 1654) issued by Prince Dara Shikoh pertaining to the afore mentioned *sarai*.[779]

Even Qazi Bhikari and Qazi Barh had certain experience in performing service for the state. Thus, Qazi Bhikhari performed the work of revenue collection in Suba Malwa for sometime, while Qazi Barh was the Deputy (*naib*) of Qazi Mahmud at Bilgram.[780] Qazi Abdur Rasul, the son of Qazi Bhikhari was a *risaladar* and *faujdar* at Lahore during the reign of Shahjahan.[781]

During the reign of Shah Alam I we come across Ruhul Amin Khan and his brother's son through a slave girl, Shaikh Din Muhammad. Both were known for their bravery and martial skill.[782] Ruhul Amin Khan held a *mansab* of 5000(*zat*), 2000 *sawar* apart from a *naqdi jagir*. During the *subedari* of Sarbibuland Khan at Kabul, Ruhul Amin Khan was given the *mahal* of Punjab like Sialkot and Jallandar to manage.[783]

For a few years he was also the *naib-subedar* of *suba* Allahabad.[784] He served under various *Nawabs* and subsequently died sometime in 1738-39.[785] His resources and status can be further gauged from the fact that at the marriage of his grandson, Shaikh Ghulam Qutbuddin, Ruhul Amin Khan caused celebrations to be held continuously for six months, during which time cooked and uncooked food was served to all the residents "rich and poor" of Bilgram and adjoining villages who were all treated as guests and hundred camels laden with gold-brocaded clothes, *marwarid*,

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[778] *Ibid.*
[779] *Ibid.*, f. 107(a).
[780] *Ibid.*, f. 112(b). For details of this Embassy of Khan-i Alam, which accompanied Ambassador Yadgar Ali in Jahangir's 8th RY (1613-14), see Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, Allahabad, 1930, pp. 338-9.
[781] *Sharaif*, f. 121(b).
[782] *Ibid.*, ff. 115(b), 114(a).
[783] *Ibid.*, p. 115(a).
[784] *Ibid.*, f. 115(a).
[785] *Ibid.*, f. 120(a).

doshalas, etc. were distributed amongst the *mirasis*. He also constructed a market (*bazar*) for his grandson.[786]

This grandson, Shaikh Ghulam Qutbuddin, later on served under Nawab Safdarjung who made him a *risaladar* of 100 *sawar*. He subsequently joined the service of Siraj-ud Daulah in Bengal.[787]

The great grand-son of Qazi Abdur Rasul, whose name was Shaikh Ghulam Rasul was a *risaladar* under Mubarizul Mulk and Sarbuland Khan with 300 *sawar*.[788] His brother, Shaikh Husamuddin too had a *risala* of 300 *sawar* under the same Nawab.[789] Later Shaikh Ghulam Rasul served under Amir Khan, Governor of Allahabad. At that time he even owned an elephant. Then he went to Bengal, where he allegedly became a commander of 500 horses and master of 24 elephants. After the defeat and death of Sirajuddaula he his rival Mir Jafar, passing on to the service of Mir Qasim. When Mir fled from Bengal to Awadh, where (before Buxar) he was arrested, and his troops dispersed, Ghulam Rasul took service with the "English General, who had become master of the *suba* of Murshidabad". From the English he obtained Rs.1000 in personal salary with a contingent of 25 horses, all from his own kinsmen. He died two or three years later. His two sons then took service (with 200 men and 2 elephants) with Raja Balwant Singh, the ruler of Banaras.[790]

Another grandson of Qazi Barh, Shaikh Muhammad Subhan was made an *iqtadar* of *sarkar* Narhar, *suba* Allahabad, during the *subedari* of Khan-i Jahan

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[786] *Ibid.*, f. 120(b).
[787] *Ibid.*, f. 120(b).
[788] *Ibid.*, f. 122(b).
[789] *Ibid.*, f. 122(b).
[790] Ibid., f. 123(a).

Bahadur Koka. In May 1697 he was killed in a campaign against the Bundelas.[791] His brother was incharge of "*nazm wa nasq*" (administration) of *suba* Allahabad.[792]

Another person of this family who excelled himself in the battle-field was Shaikh Allahyar who was given the title of Rustam-i Zaman Khan Bahadur and a *mansab* of 6000 under Farrukh Siyar. Soon it was increased to 7000 and ultimately Muhammad Shah enhanced it by 3500. This Emperor also bestowed the title of Mubraiz-ud Daulah Shujaul Mulk-i Hind Pahalwan Rustom Zaman Khan Shaikh Allahyar Bahadur.[793] Allhayar proved his military abilities in Bengal, Kabul, Multan, Gujarat, Allahabad and Azimgarh (Patna).[794] He was ultimately killed on 21 October 1730.[795]

Shaikh Allahyar's son, Shaikh Murtaza Hussain was taken into service by Sarbuland Khan who bestowed upon him the office of *bakhshi*, duty of heading the van and control of the contingent of his late father. He was also entitled as Shaikh Allahyar. Subsequently Muhammad Shah granted him a *mansab* of 2500 (*zat*) and the title of Khan.[796] Safdarjung gave him a *risala* of 200 *sawar*.[797] He was an expert in archery (*tir andazi*) and had a sound knowledge of history, poetry and the science of Medicine, apart from *ilm-i jafar*.[798]

The same family produced a large number of men of letters who were famous as writers of prose and verse.[799] Quite a few of them were calligraphers and scribes as well.[800]

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[791] *Ibid*., f 125(b).
[792] *Ibid*., f. 135(b).
[793] *Ibid*., f. 126(b)-130(a).
[794] *Ibid*., f. 126(b).130(a).
[795] *Ibid*., f. 131(b).
[796] *Ibid*., f. 133(a).
[797] Ibid., f. 133(b).
[798] *Ibid*.
[799] For example, see *ibid* ff. 67(a), 69(b), 79(b)-80(a), 95(b), 112(b), 124 (b), etc.
[800] *Ibid*., ff. 106(b), 107(b), 111(b), etc.

III

There is, however, very little evidence forthcoming as far as the land-holding of this family is concerned. The whole of the manuscript only mentions three *farmans* relating to the grant of *madad-i ma'ash* grants in lieu of services rendered as Qazi of *pargana* Bilgram by the incumbents.

The first *farman* is that of Babur dated 2nd December, 1527 and deals with the grant of an entire village, in *qasba* Fathpur Sandi, having an assessed income (*jama'*) of 800 *tanka-i siyah* and 250 *bigha* in the environs of the *qasba* to Qazi Abdul Daim.[801] The second is a *farman* of Akbar, dated 12 July 1592, which granted 150 *bigha* by *gaz-i ilah*, out of the previous grant of 200 *bigha* to Qazi Kamal, the son of Qazi Abdul Daim,[802] while the third and last is that of Shahjahan, issued in his 9th RY and specifying 100 *bigha* of village land in *pargana* Bilgram in grant to Qazi Muhammad Yusuf, the grandson of Qazi Kamal.[803] Whereas Akbar's grant superseded the previous grant, Shahjahan's grant represented an addition to Akbar's grant, since the *farman* specifies that land held in grant elsewhere would not be disturbed.

On their own Qazi Kamal and Qazi Yusuf gifted land to certain people. Qazi Kamal gifted a piece of residential land to Maulana Zameeri, a poet of his age who composed a *qasida* in praise of the late Qazi Allahdad.[804] Qazi Muhammad Yusuf reportedly gifted 2 *bigha*, 8 *biswa* and 12 *biswansa* to Mr Talib and 5 *bigha* 15 *biswansa pukhta* (pucca) to Mir Sayyid Abdul Wahid, the eldest son of Mir Tabib.[805] There are other instances when the land was gifted to *mujawir* and *qalandar* looking

[801] *Ibid.*, if. 50(a)-(b).
[802] *Ibid.*, ff. 57(a)-58(b).
[803] *Ibid.*, ff. 71(a)-(b).
[804] *Ibid.*, f. 60(b).
[805] *Ibid.*, ff. 76(a)-(b).

after the tombs of their ancestors.[806] All these gifts were made in *qasba* Bilgram, so that these were not out of the *madad-i ma'ash* lands held by the *qazi*.

From the above account of the family, it appears that the Usmanis of *pargana* Bilgram were in the beginning of the Mughal rule basically a part of service gentry, who on the one hand held a scholarly office like the *qazi* and, on other, held revenue and military offices. Their interests therefore were closely intertwined with the Mughal Empire, in whose service the non-theological members made this modest (and some allegedly) large fortunes, seeking employment from Panjab to Bengal. The detailed information about this family from Bilgram thus considerably enriches our picture of the social class from which recruits to the Mughal lower nobility tended to spring.

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[806] *Ibid.*, f 52(a)

Chapter IV

Physicians and Surgeons

[Chapter IV.i]
Physicians as Professionals

[IV.i] Physicians as Professionals

A study of Mughal society reveals the existence of a 'class' distinct from the landholding class and the peasantry, comprising physicians, architects, scholars, teachers, poets, painters, musicians and a large number of craftsmen, apart from merchants, who made their living by selling their professional skills.[807] Some recent studies have shown that this newly-arising intermediary professional group, by the seventeenth century, had started being recruited to influential bureaucratic positions.[808]

This chapter attempts to analyse the role of the physicians as professionals and assess their position in the Mughal society as well as their relations with the imperial ruling class. Was their position just that of clients bound to their patrons in expectation of a respectable income, or did a general demand exist for their services among various sections of the society, against which they received a salary? Related to this is the status of these practitioners of medicine from the point of view of their clients and patients.

I

Commenting on the level of medical education in India, Fryer suggests that the field of medical science in India was 'open to all Pretenders, here being no Bars of Authority, or formal Graduation, Examination or Proof of their Proficiency; but every

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[807] For this emerging class see, for example, Iqtidar Alam Khan, 'The Middle Classes in the Mughal Empire', Presidential Address, Medieval Indian Section, *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress,* 36th session, Aligarh, 1975 (revised version, 'The Professional Middle Classes', being published in J.S. Grewal (ed.), *Social History of Medieval India,* Vol. VIII). See also W.e. Smith, 'The Mughal Empire and the Middle Classes', *Islamic Culture,* Vol. XVII, No. 4, 1994; S. Ali Nadeem Rezavi, 'The Empire and Bureaucracy: The Case of the Mughal Empire', *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress,* Patiala, 1998.

[808] A.J. Qaisar, 'Recruitment of Merchants in the Mughal Feudal Bureaucracy' (unpublished, mimeographed); S. Ali Nadeem Rezavi, 'The Mutasaddis of the Port of Surat in the Seventeenth-Century', *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress,* Burdwan, 1983, and 'An Aristocratic Physician of the Mughal Empire: Muqarrab Khan', *Medieval India* 1, edited by Irfan Habib, 1992, pp. 154-67. For a contrary view, see W.H. Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar,* Delhi, 1962, pp. 73-77, 78.

one ventures, and every one suffers; and those that are most skilled, have it by Tradition, or former Experience descending in their Families.'[809] Fryer further observed that the Indian physicians neither understood the pulse nor did they treat other ailments.[810] Careri goes still further when he says, 'In Physick they have but small skill, and cure several diseases by Fasting',[811] and Manucci is much harsher when he exclaims, 'From such doctors and such drugs *libera nos Domine!*'[812]

Although there were not many separate colleges exclusively dealing with the medical sciences, as in Alleppo, Egypt or Iran, their existence is testified in India as well. Monserrate pointedly mentions 'a very famous school of medicine' at Sirhind, 'from which doctors are sent out all over the empire?[813] Abdul Baqi Nahawandi mentions the *madrasa* of Hakim Shams and Hakim Mu'in at Thatta, where they also gave lectures on medicine.[814] Similarly, Mir Abu Turab Gujarati, a contemporary of Akbar, had his own *maktab,* where he imparted education.[815] Abdul Hamid Lahori mentions a certain Hakim Mir Muhammad Hashim who used to impart instruction in his own school at Ahmadabad.[816] Hakim Alimuddin Wazir Khan is said to have built a *madrasa* at his native town Chiniot in the Punjab.[817]

One may assume that in these schools run by the *tabibs,* the curriculum included a study of texts on *tibb.* This impression is strengthened by Abul Fazl's statement in *Ain-i Akbari,* that Akbar had directed the inclusion of *tibb* with the other

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[809] John Fryer, *A New Account of East India and Persia in Eight Letters being Nine Years Travels Begun* 1672 *and Finished* 1681, Delhi, 1985, p. 114.
[810] Ibid., pp. 114-15.
[811] Careri, *Indian Travels ofThevenot and Careri,* edited by Surendranath Sen, New Delhi, 1949, p. 247.
[812] Niccolao Manucci, *Storia Do Mogor,* translated with Introduction and Notes by William Irvine, Vol. III, Pt iii, Calcutta, 1966, p. 214.
[813] *The Commentary of Father Monserrate;* S./ *(on his Journey to the Court of Akbar),* translated by J.S. Hoyland, annotated by S.N. Banerjee, Calcutta, 1922, p. 103.
[814] Abdul Baqi Nahawandi, *Ma'asir-i Rahimi,* edited by Hidayat Husain, Vol.,II, Calcutta, 1931, p. 274.
[815] Shah Nawaz Khan, *Ma'asir-ul Umara,* edited by Maulvi Abdur Rahim, Vol.,III, Calcutta, 1888-90, pp. 280-81.
[816] Abdul Hamid Lahori, *Padshahnama,* edited by Kabiruddin Ahmad and Abdur Rahman, I, ii, Calcutta, 1867, p. 345.
[817] *Ma'asirul Umara,* III, p. 936.

sciences in the school curriculum.[818] The well-known *Nizami* course included, besides other texts, the following well-known texts on *tibb: Sharh-i Asbab, Mu'jaz alQanun, Qanun* of Abu 'Ali Sina, *al-Nafisi* and *Hidayah-i Sa'ida.*[819]

Another form in which education in *tibb* may have been imparted was through *dawakhanas* (dispensaries) and *sharbatkhanas* (syrup houses / distilleries), often run through state munificence.[820]

The most important centres of medical education during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, however, were located in Iran, from where many physicians in India were recruited.[821] A sizeable number of physicians of the Mughal period are said to have attained their knowledge from various academies in Lahijan (Gilan), Mashhad, Isfahan and Shiraz.[822] Mir Muhammad Hashim, better known as Hakim Hashim, who later became tutor to Prince Aurangzeb and had also opened his own *madrasa* at Ahmadabad, remained in the holy cities for twelve years to acquire knowledge. In India he was a student of Hakim Ali Gilani.[823] Similarly, the famous Gilani brothers attained their education in Iran before migrating to India.

There exists evidence suggesting that sometimes Indian scholars too went to these institutions in Iran for training and education in *tibb.* One such person was Ahmad Thattavi who went to Iran from Sindh and studied in Shiraz under the

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[818] Abul Fazl, *Ain-iAkbari,* translated and edited by Blochman, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1927, p. 279.
[819] Cf. Abdul Jalil, 'The Evolution and Development of Graeco-Arab Medical Education', *Studies* in *History of Medicine,* Vol. 11, No. 3, September 1978; see also Hakim Kausar Chandpuri, *Atibba-i 'Ahad-i Mughaliya,* Karachi, 1960.
[820] *Ibid.* For state aid to dispensaries, see, for example, Maulana Abul Hasan, *Muraqq'at-i Hasan,* MS., Rampur Raza Library (transcript of MS. in Department of History, Aligarh Muslim University), pp. 330-31.
[821] See for example *Ma'asir-i Rahimi,* III, p. 46. Hakim Jibrail, a famous physician, who later joined the service of Abdur Rahim Khan-i Khanan while teaching at a *madrasa* known as *Darul Irshad* at Ardebil, heard people say that 'Iran was the *Maktab Khana* of Hindustan'.
[822] See *Ma'asir-i Rahimi,* III, pp. 44, 46, 51, 52, 745-55, etc. For example Hakim Fathullah Shirazi attained his knowledge at the *madrasa* of Mi Ghiyasuddin Shirazi, the reknowned hakim *of* Shiraz, and Khwaja Jamal uddin Mahmud and Maulana Kamaluddin at Shiraz. *Ma'asir-ul Umara,* pp. 100-01. For other such examples, see Muhammad Sadiq, *Tabaqat Shahjahani,* MS., Department of History Library, Aligarh Muslim University, p. 466. Saqi Must'ad Khan, Ma'asir-i *Alamgiri,* III, Calcutta, 1870-7, pp. 17, 50, 45-46.
[823] Lahori, *Padshahnama,* I, ii, pp. 345-46.

guidance of Mull a Kamaluddin Husain and Mulla Mirza Jan, two noted physicians of Shiraz; on completion of his studies he came back to India.[824] Muhammad Akbar Arzani, a noted physician under Aurangzeb and a native of Delhi, also went to Iran for further studies in *tibb.*[825]

A perusal of the Persian sources shows that medical education was tutor-oriented. Those desirous to learn would go to a reputed physician and get the education from him.[826] Thus Hakim Ali Gilani acquired his knowledge in the company of Hakimul Mulk Shamsuddin Gilani and Shah Fathullah Shirazi.[827]

II

In Mughal India, like other professions, the physician's profession also gained prominence. Historical sources reveal the important position held by physicians. Abul Fazl, Nizamuddin Abmad and Lahori, while listing *ulema* (scholars) and poets, duly included the physicians of the period. Considerable interest appears to have been taken in patronizing them. In ethnic terms, the *tabibs* of Mughal India were a predominantly Irani group (see Table 1). This is borne out by the list of physicians mentioned in the Mughal chronicles as well as the observations of the European travellers.[828] But at Akbar's court the situation was slightly different in so far as there were also present a considerable number of Hindu *tabibs,* who are mentioned by Abul

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[824] *Ma'asir-ul Umara,* III, p. 263.
[825] *Yadgar-i Bahaduri,* BM. MS. OR. 1652, f. 96, as cited in *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts* in *the British Museum,* Charles Rieu, Vol. II, 1881 p.479.
[826] For details on medical education, see Abdul Jalil, 'Evolution and Development of Graeco-Arab Medical Education'; and A.H. Israili, 'Education of Unani Medicine during Mughal period', *SIHM,* Vol. IV, No. 3, September, 1980.
[827] Badauni, *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh,* edited by Molvi Ahmad Ali, Vol.III, Calcutta, 1869, p. 166. For other such examples see Khwaja Nizamudin Ahmad, *Tabaqat-i Akbari,* edited by B. De, Vol. II, Calcutta, 1931, p. 483; *Ma'asir-i Rahimi,* III, pp. 51-52; Lahori, *Padshahnama,* I, p. 346.
[828] See, for example, in this regard, Manucci, *Storia* Do *Mogor,* II, iii, pp. 332- 33, wherein the author says that the physicians in the Mughal court were basically Persians.

Fazl and Nizamuddin in their list of *Atibba.*[829] These 'Hindu' *tabibs* were probably brahmins by caste,[830] and experts of Ayurvedic rather than Unani *tibb.*

TABLE I

Reign	*Persians*	*Indians*	*Others*	*Total*
Akbar	15	14	13	42
Jahangir	11	07	01	19
Shahjahan	10	08	05	24
Aurangzeb	04	?	01	?

We find that a sizeable number of *tabibs* joined Mughal service in various capacities and were sometimes also assigned *mansabs.* These were physicians who would be recruited directly to the service of the emperor; others would join the establishment of nobles. We even hear of female *tabibs.* Thus we have the reference to Sati-un Nisa Khan, the sister of poet-laureate of Jahangir's court, Talib-i Amuli and wife of *hakim* Rukna Kashi, who was 'well versed in *tibb* and knew the art of healing (*tirq-i mu'alijat*) who was serving as a physician in the household of Mumtaz Mahal.[831] Fryer also mentions the nurses and midwives who were recruited by the rich to look after their patients.[832]

Before a physician or a surgeon could join a service he had to pass certain tests to the satisfaction of the employer. Extreme care was taken to select or appoint

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[829] *A'in-i Akbari*, I, pp. 542-44; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, pp. 481-84.
[830] See, for example, the testimony of Fryer, A New *Account*, p. 115, also p.27; also see Pyrard, The *Voyage of Francois Pyrard of Laval,* translated and edited by Albert Gray and H.C.P. Bell, Vol. I, Haklyut Society, London, n.d., p.373.
[831] Lahori, II, p.269; I, ii, p.70.
[832] Fryer, p. 115

only the most accomplished and experienced physician.[833] Thus, at the time of Hakim Ali Gilani's employment, Akbar ordered several bottles containing the urine of sick and healthy persons, as also that of cattle and asses, to be brought before the Hakim for detection. The Hakim is reported to have diagnosed each one of them correctly and passed the test. From that time his reputation and influence increased and he became a close confidant *(muqarrab)* of Akbar.[834] Manucci recounts a similar incident that happened to him while in the retinue of Prince Shah Alam.[835]

From a stray remark of Manucci it appears that, as in the case of those in imperial service, there was a hierarchical division in the establishment of a prince. There used to be a chief physician under whose charge were placed a number of subordinate physicians and surgeons who were bound to obey his orders.[836] This chief physician was, in Mughal terminology, known as *saramad-i atibba* or *saramad-i hukama.*[837] This hierarchy is also discernible, at least in the imperial household, by the reference to the title of *Hakimul Mulk* (the chief of the physicians), which was quite independent of the *mansab* he was holding. Although the most visible of the state physicians and the holder of the highest *mansab* under Akbar was Hakim Abul Fath, the title (or office?) of *Hakimul Mulk* was held by Hakim Shamsuddin Gilani.[838] In 1627, on the accession of Shahjahan, the title was bestowed upon Hakim Abu'l Qasim, the son of *Hakimul Mulk* Shamsuddin Gilani.[839]

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833 Manucci, *Storia* Do *Mogor,* II, iii, p. 332.
834 *Ma'asir-ul Umara,* I, p. 569; Farid Bhakkari, *Zakhiratul Khawanin,* edited by Moinul Haque, Vol. I, Karachi, 1961-74, pp. 243-45.
835 Manucci, *Storia Do Mogor,* pp. 373-74.
836 *Ibid.,* p. 215.
837 Khwaja Kamgar Husaini, *Ma'asir-i Jahangir,* edited by Azra Alavi, Centre of Advanced Study in History, Aligarh Muslim University, 1978, pp. 50-52; *Maasirul Umara,* I, p. 577; *Miratu'l Alam,* I, p. 332.
838 *A'in-i Akbari,* Vol. I, p. 542; *Tabaqat-i Shahjahani,* p. 465.
839 Amin Qazwini, MS.BM.OR. 173, Add. 20734 (transcript of MS., Raza Library, Rampur, in Department of History, Aligarh Muslim University), II, p. 281.

In 1662 the recipient of this honour was Hakim Mir Muhammad Mahdi Ardistani,[840] followed by Hakim Sadiq Khan, who was awarded the title in the forty-ninth regnal year of Aurangzeb (1704-05).[841]

Mughal miniatures also confirm the hierarchical division amongst the physicians serving kings, princes and nobles. In three or four miniatures, a chief physician *(saramad-i atibba)* is depicted tending the patient along with his subordinate colleagues.[842] The growing prosperity of the medical profession can be discerned through the depiction of the physician-bureaucrats.[843] Physicians who joined imperial service or that of a noble, but had not been assigned a *mansab,* were recruited on a daily *(yaumiya)* or annual *(saliyana)* salary.[844] Even after the grant of *mansab,* they received 'pocket-money' *(zar-i jeb)* to maintain a medicine box *(kharita)* comprising essential medicines.[845] From our sources it appears that the personal salary of a physician could vary between Rs. 300 per month, i.e. Rs. 3,600 per annum, and Rs. 100,000 per annum.[846] According to Manucci, the salary of a blood-letter (surgeon) varied between Rs. 2 per day and Rs. 700,[847] Apart from remunerating a

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[840] Muhammad Bakhtawar Khan, *Miratu'l Alam,* edited by Sajida Alavi, I, Lahore, 1979, p. 297.
[841] Khafi Khan, *Muntakhabu'l Lubab,* edited by Kabiruddin Ahmad and W. Haig, Vol.II, Bib. Ind., Calcutta, 1905-25, p. 539.
[842] See 'Babur stricken by illness in Samarqand', signed by Nama, *Baburnama,* BM.OR. 3714, f. 79(a), cf. *Miniatures of Baburnama,* Samarqand, 1969, p. 18; 'Doctors and Patient', signed by Mirza Ghulam, *Diwan-i Hasan Dehlavi,* Waiters Art Gallery, W. 650, f. 127, cf. Amina Okada, *Imperial Mughal Painters, Indian Miniatures from 16th and 17th Centuries,* translated by Deke Dusinberre, Flammarion, Paris, 1992, pl. 120; 'One Physician Killing Another', signed by Miskina, *Khamsa-i Nizami,* BM.OR. 12208 (Dyson-Perrins Collection) f. 23(b), cf. Amina Okada, *Imperial Mughal Painters,* pl. 143. For details, see S. Ali Nadeem Rezavi, 'Depiction of Middle-Class Professions and Professionals in Mughal Miniatures', *Madhya Kalin Bharat,* 7, edited by Irfan Habib, New Delhi, 2000 (Hindi translation of the paper presented at the Indian History Congress, Aligarh session, 1994).
[843] See Chapter IX for details.
[844] Discussing the salary of the state physicians. Manucci comments that 'those bearing the title of Khan-that is "noble", have a gross allowance offrom twenty, thirty, fifty, one hundred to two thousand rupees a year'; Manucci, *Storia* Do *Mogor,* p. 332. See also Lahori, *Padshahnama,* 11, p. 422; Muhammad Waris. *Badshahnama,* MS, 10 Ethe 329 (transcript of MS., Raza Library, Rampur, at Department of History, Aligarh Muslim University), n, p. 255.
[845] Waris, II, p. 306.
[846] For example see, Manucci, *Storia* Do *Mogor,* IV, pp. 205, 210. *Miratul Alam,* I, p. 332; Lahori, *Padshahnama,* n, pp. 8, 11-12, 184, 234, 301, 334, and also I, p. 177; Qazwini, MS.BM.OR. 173, Add. 20734, n, *p. 277; Ma'asirul Umara, I, p. 589.*
[847] Manucci, *Storia Do Mogor,* IV, p. 205.

physician for his services through grant of *mansab* or cash allowances and salaries; they could also be given grants of bureaucratic offices or *madad-i ma'ash* grants.

Sometimes we find that the Mughal bureaucracy also included persons who were basically military or civil officers but had some knowledge of *tibb* which they used for treating people off and on. Such cases would include persons like Shaikh Faizi, Amanullah Khan Firuz Jang and Danishmand Khan. Khwaja Khawind, a noble under Humayun, is also said to have been a physician of some renown.[848]

Our sources also throw some light on the patron-client relationship between employer and employee. For example, Manucci observes that before being conducted into the royal *haram* or into the harem of a noble, the physician was covered from head to waist with a cloth and was accompanied by eunuchs.[849] Generally, a set of rooms, styled *bimarkhana,* was assigned for the ailing lady in the *haram.*[850] Manucci further informs us that in the case of a patient being of royal blood, prior permission had to be taken from the emperor in order to start the treatment.[851] Another piece of interesting information which hints at a patron-client relationship is provided by Manucci when he says that it was not the practice among the princes, and nobles to talk or have any sort of relations with the servants of other nobles or princes, for fear of treason. This applied to physicians particularly. When, in 1683, Diler Khan, an enemy of Prince Shah Alam, fell ill and with fair promises summoned Manucci to treat him, the prince strictly refused him permission to do so.[852]

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[848] *Ma' asir-i Rahimi,* I, pp. 516, 585. *Science and Technology in Medieval India: A Bibliography of Source Materials in Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian,* edited by A. Rahman, M.A. Alvi et. al., *New* Delhi, 1982, p. 21. Francois Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire, 1656--68,* Constable, 1968, p. 4.

[849] Manucci, *Storia* Do *Mogor,* II, iii, pp. 328-29, 332, 374-75; see also *ibid.,* p.195.

[850] *Ibid.,* II, iii, p. 319. In the royal harem, sometimes a woman having a sound knowledge of *tibb* could also be attached. Lahori *(Padshahnama,*II , i, p. 629) refers to Sati-un Nisa Begum, the wife of Nasira, the brother ofHakim Rukna, who was attached to the household of Mumtaz Mahal.

[851] *Ibid.,* II, iii, pp. 193-94, 195.

[852] Manucci, *Storia Do Mogor,*II, iii, pp. 383-84.

There also exists evidence indicating the extent to which the ruler or nobles used to depend on the services offered to them by the physicians in their employment. This, for example, comes out very well from what we know about Jahangir's relationship with some of his physicians. On the one hand, he always had high expectations of their service and skilful treatment; at the same time he tended to denounce and denigrate them whenever they failed to come up to his expectations. He would, at the same time, criticize a *tabib* for not being able to give him relief from a disease and resent the *tabib* leaving his company on one pretext or the other.[853]

The dependence of the patron on his client is clearly brought out by a story narrated by Tavernier. In December 1665, when Tavernier passed through Allahabad, he was told that the chief of the Persian physicians in the governor's pay had tried to kill his wife by throwing her from the top of a terrace. The woman survived the fall. The governor dismissed the chief physician and the physician departed with his family. But soon after the governor fell ill and recalled the physician. On getting his message, the physician stabbed his wife, children and thirteen slave-girls, and returned to the governor at Allahabad. The governor said nothing to him and accepted him back in his service.[854] Similarly, Taqarrub Khan was retired and his son dismissed by Aurangzeb after the *hakim* had cured the imprisoned Shahjahan. But after some time when Aurangzeb himself fell ill, the *hakim* was restored to favour and the dismissal of his son was revoked.[855]

Further, it appears that a physician joining the service of the state or a noble was not bound to his patron. He could, like a true professional, change his employer as and when he willed. This becomes apparent by the way the author of *Ma'asir-i*

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[853] See in this regard Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri*, edited by Saiyid Ahmad Khan, Vol. II, Ghazipur, 1863, p. 334; also see ibid., II, p. 336.
[854] Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, *Travels in India*, translated by V. Ball, Vol. I, New Delhi, 1977, p. 96.
[855] *Ma'asir-ul Umara*, I, p. 493; *Ma'asir-i Alamgir*, p. 42.

Rahimi mentions approvingly that after joining the service of Khan-i Khanan, Hakim Muhammad Baqir remained attached to him throughout his life.[856] We also have the evidence of Hakim Muhammad Husain Gilani who, on migrating to India, initially joined the service of Mahabat Khan. After some time we find him in the service of Khan- i Zaman Bahadur. From there again he went to the court of Adil Shah at Bijapur, where he remained employed for a period of ten years. Later he joined the service of Khani Dauran.[857] A similar example is that of Hakim Momena Shirazi who, on coming to India, joined the service of Mahabat Khan.[858] In 1662 we find him employed with Bahadur Khan, the *subadar* of Allahabad.[859] In 1665 he joined the imperial service and became the chief physician treating an ailing Shahjahan.[860]

From the foregoing discussion it becomes apparent that the patronage extended to physicians after Akbar weakened under Jahangir but then rose again under Shahjahan, if we go by the number of physicians listed by various chroniclers (see Table 2). Secondly, the Iranian element remained dominant from the reign of Akbar to that of Shahjahan. Thirdly, those who joined service came after formal and proper training. Lastly, the recruitment and promotion of a physician was linked with his expertise in medical practice. It was more a demand-related relationship rather than a fixed relationship of the feudal type.

TABLE 2

Reign	*Those holding Mansabs*	*Other*	*Total*

[856] *Ma'asir-i Rahimi*, III, p. 45.
[857] *Zakhiratul Khawanin*, III, pp. 336-38.
[858] Lahori, *Padshahnama*, I, ii, p. 349; *Ma'asir-i Jahangiri*, p. 345.
[859] Manucci, *Storia Do Mogor*, II, p. 76.
[860] *Miratu'l Alam*, I, p. 332.

Akbar	8	34	42
Jahangir	7	12	19
Shahjahan	15	9	24
Aurangzeb	5	?	?
Total *mansab* holders:	35		

III

Darush-shifa or shifakhanas (hospitals) were also run by the government, which employed physicians for the purpose. According to *Bahar-i Ajam,* these places were buildings *(makan)* established by the rulers and nobles for the treatment of the poor and needy *(ghuraba wa masakin).*[861] The tradition of building hospitals in India appears to have been established much before the advent of the Mughals. For example, in 1442-43 orders were issued by Sultan Mahmud Shah Khalji of Malwa to establish a *darush-shifa* as well as a *darukhana* (dispensary or pharmacy) at Mandu, where those who had knowledge of the drugs *(adwiya shinas)* used in the systems of medicine followed by the Muslim physicians and Indians *(brahman-i hindi)* and 'accomplished physicians' were to be appointed, to look after the patients visiting the hospital.[862]

For the Mughal period, information about the establishment of state hospitals starts from the reign ofJahangir. In his twelve edicts of the first regnal year, Jahangir

[861] Munshi Tek Chand 'Bahar', *Bahar-i Ajam,* 1739-40, litho. Nawal Kishore, Lucknow, *1336/1916,* Vol. II, p. 166.
[862] *Ma'asir-i Mahmud Shahi,* p. 64.

ordained the establishment of hospitals in all the great cities of the empire, where physicians were to be appointed for healing the sick. The expenses of these hospitals were to be met from the *khalisa sharifa.*[863] Sometimes, especially during Aurangzeb's reign, hospitals were also established in small places that were within the *altamgha* assignments of the biggar *mansabdars* and *umara.*[864]

It appears that in these hospitals, the state recruited a number of physicians and surgeons who were under the charge of a chief physician, who acted as the superintendent *(darogha)* of the hospital. To assist them in the general administration of the hospital, a number of clerks *(mutasaddis)* and a *kotwal* were also appointed.[865] From a reference to a *madrasa* being attached to a *shifakhana,* it appears that these hospitals sometimes served as medical colleges of sorts.[866] During the reign of Shahjahan, a government hospital was constructed at Delhi near Chowri Bazar, 'for the treatment of the travellers and the students *(talib-i 'ilman)* who cured the sick'.[867] A reference to a 'school of medicine' at Sirhind has already been given, from where, according to Fr Monserrate, 'doctors are sent out all over the empire'. Monserrate was probably referring to a medical college. Another government hospital that flourished was the *darush-shifa* of Ahmadabad, where Shahjahan appointed Hakim Mir Muhammad Hashim as the head.[868] This hospital was meant for treating the poor[869] and Unani as well as Ayurvedic *(tibb-i hindi)* physicians and surgeons were appointed

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[863] *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri,* I, p. 4.
[864] Ali Muhammad Khan, *Mirat-i Ahmadi,* edited by Nawab Ali, Vol. I, Baroda, 1972-78, p.376.
[865] For a reference to the *mutasaddis* and *kotwal* in a government hospital, see Gopal Rai Surdaj, *Durrul Ulum,* MS., Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ms Walker 104, f. 45(b) Rotograph in Department of History, Aligarh Muslim University).
[866] *Mirat-i Ahmadi,* I, p. 209.
[867] *Sairu'l Manazil,* p. 8. This *Darush Shifa* is probably the same which is referred to by Gopal Rai Surdaj (*Durul Ulum,* f. 45(b)).
[868] Lahori, *Padshahnama,* I, ii, p. 345.
[869] *Mirat-i Ahmadi* (supplement), pp. 186-87.

here. We hear of two more government hospitals, the *darush-shifa* at Aurangabad and the *darush-shifa* at Surat.[870]

The physicians appointed in these hospitals were generally paid on a daily basis *(yaumiya)* from the treasury *(bait-ul mal),*[871] through the *mutasaddis* of *dar-uz zarb* (officials of the royal mint).[872] The superintendent and chief physicians *(darogha wa hakim-i darush shifa)* of the government hospital at Aurangabad drew a salary, after usual deductions, of Rs. 136 (i.e. Rs. 6 per day).[873]

The physicians serving the government hospitals had to submit an attendance certificate *(tasdiq-i hazan)* before their salary was released. Sometimes, the *darogha-i darush-shifa* could be exempted from attendance.[874] To be appointed to the post of a physician, recommendations had to be made by the *bakhshi* or some other responsible person.[875] However, Aurangzeb did not like too much interference in the matter of appointment from ordinary people.[876]

Apart from government hospitals, hospitals could also be established by nobles. During Jahangir's reign; Saif Khan built a hospital complex at Jeetalpur comprising a mosque, a *madrasa* and a *shifakhana* which treated the poor.[877] During the same reign, Hakim Alimuddin Wazir Khan constructed a *madrasa* and a *darush-shifa* along with other buildings at his native town of Chiniot in the Punjab, and

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[870] For the hospital at Surat, see *Ruqqat-iAlamgiri,* Nizami Press, Kanpur, 1273 AH, Letter No. 125. See also *Surat Documents,* ff. 174(b), 175(a).

[871] *Mirat-i Ahmadi* (supplement), p. 187; *Selected Documents of Aurangzeb's Reign,* edited by YusufHusain, Hyderabad, 1958, pp. 122-23.

[872] *Surat Documents,* Blochet, Suppl. Pers. 482, ff. 174(a), 174(b).

[873] *Selected Documents of Aurangzeb's Reign,* pp. 122-23. The total salary was Rs 180 p.m. which, after the deduction of usual dues, came to Rs 136 p.m. For salaries and daily allowances in government hospitals at Surat and Ahmadabad see *SuratDocuments,* ff. 174(a)-175(b), ff. 81(a)-82(b); *Waqa'i Ajmer wa Ranthambhar,* MS., Asafiya Library, Hyderabad (transcript in Department of History, Aligarh Muslim University) Vol. 1, p. 9; *Mirat* (supplement), pp. 160-61, 186-87. Compare this with the salaries oflocal officials like *qanungo, muharrir, nawisanda,* etc., which ranged 'somewhere between Rs 10 to Rs 17 per month'. See Chapter I

[874] *Selected Documents ofShahjahan's Reign,* edited by Y.H. Yahya, Hyderabad, 1950, pp. 211-12; *Daftar-i Diwani-o-Mal-o-Mulki-i Sarkar-i A 'la,* Hyderabad (State Archives), 1939, p. 161.

[875] *Selected Documents of Aurangzeb's Reign,* pp. 120, 122-23.

[876] *Ruqqat-i Alamgir,* Letter No. 125.

[877] *Mirat-i Ahmadi,* I, p. 209

dedicated those to the residents of that town.[878] A certain Hakim Muhammad Rafi opened a *hawaij kadah* (clinic) for the treatment of the poor.[879]

Interestingly, Careri remarks that European soldiers were hesitant to be recruited into the Mughal army as they had 'no hospital for the wounded men'.[880] However, we have repeated information that the Mughal forces were always accompanied by physicians,[881] and it appears that the physicians thus employed in the retinue of the *mansabdars* enjoyed attractive perquisites. Many *tabibs* clamoured to be appointed to such positions.[882] But apparently these physicians, in spite of their perquisites, were an overworked and harassed lot.[883]

Another means of patronizing the profession of physicians in the Mughal Empire was the system of rewarding expertise and service to the commonality through gifts and grants. Thus, when Nurjahan Begum was successfully treated by Hakim Ruhullah in 1618, the *hakim* was granted three villages in his native place as *madad-i ma 'ash,* which were to be considered his *milkiyat* (private property).[884] The purpose of such *madad-i ma 'ash* grants to the *tabibs* is clearly brought out by a number of Persian documents and chronicles. Hodivola has reproduced a number of documents relating to land and cash allowances granted to a family of Parsi physicians of Navsari, Gujarat, issued between 1517 and 1671.[885] According to these

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[878] *Ma'asirul Umara,* II, p. 936.
[879] *Muraqq'at-i Hasan,* Abul Hasan, MS., Riza Library, Rampur (Microfilm in Department of History, Aligarh Muslim University).
[880] *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri,* p. 218.
[881] See, for example, *Selected Documents of Aurangzeb's Reign,* p. 120; Manucci, *Storia Do Mogor,* II, pp. 95-96, 225, etc.; Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire,* pp. 489, etc.
[882] *Letter of Balkrishan Brahman,* MS., Riell, 83, Add.16895 (Rotagraph in Department of History, Aligarh Muslim University), f. 31(b).
[883] See for example Manucci, *Storia* Do *Mogor,* UI, iv, p. 459. These physicians were probably quite unskilled. See *Mirza Nama* of Mirza Kamran, cited in Iqtidar Alam Khan, 'The Middle Classes in the Mughal Empire', p. 19, n.68.
[884] *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri,* n, p. 253; *Nishan* of Maryam Zamani in *Edicts from the Mughal Haram,* pp. 50-52. See also *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri,* I, p. 91.
[885] Hodivala, *Studies in Parsi History,* Bombay, 1929, pp. 167-88. See also Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India, 1556-1707,* 2nd edn, Oxford, 1999, p. 353. I am thankful to Professor Irfan Habib, for having brought this set of documents to my knowledge.

documents, these Parsi physicians received the *madad-i ma'ash* since they treated 'the poor and the diligent' of the locality.[886] A *parwana* quoted in *Muraqqat-i Hasan,* 1678, a compilation of letters written on behalf of Tarbiyat Khan, governor of Orissa, says that as a large number of ailing persons were being successfully treated by Hakim Muhammad Rafi, and as the people were greatly benefited by his medical knowledge, two *parganas* in *sarkar* Cuttack were given to him as *madad-i ma'ash,* from the income of which he was expected to meet the expenses of the *sharbatkhana* and the clinic *(hawaij kadah)* that he was running for the treatment of the poor.[887]

Importantly, this 'aid' was not confined to a particular religious or ethnic group of physicians. We have seen that apart from Muslim *tabibs* this grant was successively confirmed in favour of a family of Parsi physicians from the reign of Akbar to that of Aurangzeb.[888] A number of documents testify to similar *madad-i ma 'ash* grants to Hindu physicians.[889]

IV

A general view which has found currency is that the physicians were completely dependent on royal patronage, or on the service of and endowments from the aristocracy. It is also sometimes held that the demand for the service was very limited.[890] This erroneous view seems to be based mainly on Tavernier's observation to the effect that:

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[886] *Ibid.* Of special interest in this regard is the public testimony explicitly mentioning this reason for the grant contained in a document of Aurangzeb's reign (Hodivala, *Studies in Parsi History,* pp. 185-86, 188); Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System,* p. 353.
[887] *Muraqqat-i Hasan,* pp. 330-31.
[888] *Parwana,* dated 1 Ramzan 1116AH/48th RY/28 December 1704, preserved in National Archives, New Delhi, no. NAI, AD.2444; see also NAI, AD.2446 (dated 25 Ziqada 1127/3RY of Farukh Siyar/22 November 1715).
[889] See for example NAI, AD.2445 and NAI, AD.2447; *Some Firmans, Sanads and Parwanas (1578-1802 AD),* edited by K.K. Datta, Patna, 1962, pp. 30, 45, 68.
[890] Amongst others this view is strongly endorsed by Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar,* Delhi, 1962, p. 79, and B.B. Misra, *The Indian Middle Classes,* London, 1961, p. 59.

'....in all the countries we have just passed through, both in the Kingdom of Carnatic and the Kingdoms of Golkonda and Bijapur, there are hardly any physicians except those in the service of the Kings and Princes.'[891]

But what the statement reveals is that Golconda and Bijapur were different in this respect from other areas. We have already noted in the preceding discussion that there were numerous physicians in Mughal India who ran their own clinics, imparted education and treated the poor. Apart from the evidence already cited, there are many more references to the private practitioners. Some of them however, were no more than quacks *(na-tabib),* a fact borne out by Badauni.[892] Manucci too, in one of his passages, refers to these unqualified bazar physicians. While giving an account of the caravan sarais, he mentions the 'endless cheating physicians' who pestered the travellers.[893]

These *bazar* physicians appear to have lived mainly on private practice. For instance, Badauni uses the term *mutatabib-Sirhindi,* that is, a private practitioner of Sirhind, when he mentions Shaikh Hasan, father of Shaikh Bhina, the surgeon.[894] Banarsi Das, in his *Ardha* Kathanak, mentions a physician *(baidh)* of Jaunpur who treated him when he was young. He also mentions a *nai* (literally, barber), a term applied to local surgeons, who treated him for syphilis at Khairabad in 1602.[895] When his father fell ill in 1616, he was treated by yet another private practitioner at Banaras.[896] During Shahjahan's reign a physician called Hakim Basant had a flourishing practice at Lahore. Surat Singh mentions a 'specialist' of dog-bite at

[891] Tavernier, *Travels* in *India,* I, p. 240
[892] Badauni, *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh,* III, pp. 163,170,315.
[893] Manucci, *Storia Do Mogor,* I, p. 115.
[894] Badauni, *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh,* III, p. 169.
[895] Banarsi Das, *Ardha Kathanak,* translated and annotated by Mukund Lath, Jaipur, p. 14, text, verse 15 and pp. 31-32, text, verses 185-92. For his biograpgy see supra.
[896] *Ibid.,* p. 70, text, verse 488.

Kalanaur, to whom hapless patients would be carried.[897] During the reign of Aurangzeb, Hakim Muhammad Abdullah practised and taught at Agra.[898] Balkrishan Brahman, a petty official, in his letters written during the reign of Aurangzeb, mentions local medical practitioners like Balram Misr and Manka Tabib at Hissar Firoza. In one of his letters recommending Manka Tabib to a *mansabdar* for employment, he certified that 'a large number of people have benefited by associating with him'.[899] The presence of Hindu *bazar* physicians in the south is attested to by a number of European travellers.[900]

The practice of setting up private clinics in the *bazars* by physicians also finds place in the Mughal miniatures. A miniature attributed randomly to Abul Hasan and pertaining to the reign of Jahangir reminds us of Tavernier's descriptions. [901]

Thus we see that not only was there considerable scope for private practice, in many cases physicians preferred establishing private clinics to government posts or accepting patronage from a noble. Yet, interestingly enough, we know on the testimony of Fryer that there was no dearth of physicians who coveted employment under a noble.[902] Presumably this was so because employment under a noble gave them a feeling of security and ensured a comparatively small but steady income.[903]

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[897] Surat Singh, *Tazkira-i Pir Hassu Taili*, MS., Department of History, Aligarh Muslim University, ff. 48(b), 171(a), 125(b)-126(a).
[898] Abdul Hayy, *Nuzhat-ul Khawatir*, edited by Sharifuddin Ahmad, Vol. V, Hyderabad, 1962-79, p. 357. For another such example see Anonymous, *Iqbal Nama*, translated by S. Hasan Askari, Patna, 1883, p. 213.
[899] *Letters of Balkrishan Brahman*, MS., Rieu, 83, Add.16895, ff. 125(a), 319(a)- 31(b).
[900] See for example Francois Pyrard, *The Voyage of Francois Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies, the Maldives, the Moluccas and Brazil*, translated and edited by Albert Gray and H.C.P. Bell, Vol. I, Haklyut Society, London, n.d., p.373; Manucci, *Storia Do Mogor*, III, iii, p. 129; J. Fryer, *A New Account of East India and Persia*, p. 27; Carre, *The Travels of the Abbe Carre* in *India and the Near East*, 1672 *to* 1674, Vol. I, translated by Lady Fawcet, edited by C. Fawcet and R. Burn, New Delhi, 1990, pp. 268-69.
[901] For details see Chapter IX
[902] Fryer, *A New Account of East India and Persia*, p. 115.
[903] As a private practitioner, Manucci was offered Rs 4,000 by a patient (Manucci, *Storia Do Mogor*, III, iii, p. 132); in the service of Shah Alam he receivedRs 300 p.m. (*ibid*., II, p. 215) apart from occasional gifts ranging from Rs 400 to Rs 200 for individual treatment of the members of the princes'

These medical practitioners tended to be very hostile to their European counterparts. Partly this might have been an outcome of the European physicians assuming superior airs vis-a-vis the Indian physicians. As Manucci tells us, the Europeans were often not agreeable to accept salaries on a par with those of Indian physicians.[904] However, Linschoten speaks very reverentially of the Indian physicians who, he says, had no scruples in treating the natives and Europeans alike.[905] Careri goes a step further and, in one of his very perceptive passages, suggests that persons suffering from particular kinds of diseases found in India respond more naturally to the treatment given by Indian physicians: 'Experience having shown', observes Careri, 'that European Medicines are of no use here: He further says:

> ...the physicians that go out of Portugal into those parts, must at first keep company with the Indian surgeons to be fit to practice, otherwise if they go about to cure those Distempers, so far different from ours after the European manner, they may chance to kill more than they cure.[906]

V

As far as the state of knowledge in the field of medicine during the Mughal period is concerned, many modern scholars, following the testimony of the European travellers of the seventeenth century, have expressed serious reservations. As a matter of fact, Manucci held a firm belief that these *tabibs* had no knowledge of medicine

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harem (*ibid.*, II, p. 331). The government physicians on the other hand had a salary of Rs. 2 per day (i.e. Rs. 60 p.m.). See *supra*.

[904] Manucci, time and again, laments over this hostility; see *Storia Do Mogor*, II, p. 381; IV, pp. 205-10.

[905] John Huighen Van Linschoten, *Voyages to East Indies*, Vol. 1, Hakluyt Society, 1885, p. 230.

[906] Careri, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, pp. 161-62. Compare this view regarding Indian surgeons with that of Tavernier *(Travels* in *India*, I, p. 241) that the people of this country understand nothing about it. See also Manucci, *Storia Do Mogor*, 11, pp. 89-90, regarding limitations of Muslim surgeons at Agra.

and were certainly not in a position to cure the stone, paralysis, epilepsy, dropsy, anaemia, malignant fevers or other difficult complaints.[907]

The available evidence, however, suggests that the medical profession in Mughal India had achieved a considerable degree of specialization within the frame work of Graeco-Arab medical science. The *hakims, tabibs* and *jarrahs* (surgeons) appear to have had amongst them ophthalmologists, specialized surgeons, pharmacologists, veterinarians, sexologists and anatomists. Manucci admits that the *tabibs* of the period were well-versed in the science of pharmacy. He says:

> In this country it is incumbent on a doctor to prepare medicines, ointments and distillation-infact all things that appertain to the apothecary's office. Many a times it is also necessary to instruct as to the fashion of preparing the patient's food.[908]

Generally, the preparation of medicines was considered the responsibility of the physicians who prescribed them. The prescriptions, however, were generally kept a secret by the physician from each other, due to rivalry among them.[909] This was, perhaps, an important factor inhibiting the growth of pharmaceutical establishments. Generally, pharmaceutical preparations consisting of *sufuf* (powder), *mahlul* (suspension), *majun* and *jawarish* (electuaries), *sharbat* (syrups), arq (distilled medicinal water) and mixtures were prepared by the physicians themselves. Sometimes the physician possessed expertise in more than one field. For instance, during the reigns of Babur and Humayun, Hakim Yusum bin Muhammad Yusufi, who migrated to India along with Babur, was an expert in symptomatology, therapeutics, ophthalmology and general medicine. He was the author of at least twelve books. Two of his treatises dealing with symptomatology are preserved in the Maulana Azad

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[907] Manucci, *ibid.*, II, p. 333.
[908] *Ibid.*, III, iii, p. 187.
[909] See for example, *ibid*, III, iii, p. 129.

Library, Aligarh.[910] His *Fawa'id-ul Akhyar* and *Ilajul Amraz* deal with hygiene and therapeutics.[911] He also compiled a short discourse on eye diseases and their cures.[912] Similary, Hakim Muhammad bin Yusufut Tabib al-Harawi, the personal physician of Babur, was, in addition to his other accomplishment as *tabib,* one of the most widely-read pathologists of his time.[913] Hakim Abdur Razzaq, who was a contemporary of Humayun, wrote *Khulasat-ut Tashrih,* which deals with human anatomy.[914]

During Akbar's reign, much stress seems to have been laid on surgery. Shaikh Bhina, Mulla Qutbuddin Kuhhal (eye surgeon?), Hakim Biarjiu, Hakim Bhairon and Chandrasen were all reputed to be accomplished surgeons.[915] Hakim Shaikh Bhina wrote a book on medical prescriptions which is popularly known as *Mujarrabat-i Shaikh Bhina.*[916] Hakim 'Ainul Mulk 'Dawwani' Shirazi excelled him self in the field of opthalmology.[917] He was also an expert in the use of collyrium and pharmacology.[918] His treatise, *Fawaid ul Insan,* is a work on pharmacology in versified form.[919] Muhammad Hakim Gilani had expertise in sexology.[920] Hakim Ali Gilani, one of the most accomplished physicians of Akbar's reign, apart from his formula of *roghan-i deodar,* had also prepared *sharbat-i kaifnak,* which helped in removing exhaustion.[921] He also had considerable knowledge in fields like osteology (study of bone structures), myology (study of muscles), angiology, neurology and the

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[910] See *Dala'il ul Bul,* MS., Sir Sulaiman Collection, 493/14; Subhanullah Collection, 616/22; and *Dala'il un Nabz,* MS., Sir Sulaiman Collection, 492/ 12, Subhanullah, 616/22.
[911] *MS.*, Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh, University *Farsiyya Funun*, No. 56.
[912] *MS.*, Bodlein, Persian MSS. Catalogue, 3/76, 2757/3, cf. A. Rahman et al., *Bibliography of Source Materials,* pp. 266-69.
[913] *Bahrul Jawahir,* MS., Maulana Azad Libery, University Farsiya Funun, 4, pub. Calcutta, edited by Abdul Majid, 1830. *Cf.* A. Rahman et. al., *Bibliography of Source Materials,* p. 113.
[914] *MS.*, Bankipur Library, Patna, 11-40; 1013, cf. *ibid.*, p. 4.
[915] Badauni, *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh,* III, pp. 169-70; *Tabaqat-i Akbari,* II, pp. 483-84.
[916] *MS.*, Central State Library, Hyderabad, *Tibb,* 254; Asiatic Society of Bengal, Persian MSS Catalogue, Soc. 722, cf. A. Rahman et al., *Bibliography of Source Materials,* p. 41.
[917] Badanuni, *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh,* III, p. 230
[918] *Ibid.*, III, p. 164; *Tabaqat-i Akbari,* II, p. 481.
[919] *MS.*, Salarjung, *Mashriqi Kitabkhana,* Hyderabad, cf. A. Rahman et. al., *A Bibliography of Source Materials,* p. 16.
[920] *Ibid.*, pp. 144-45.
[921] *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri,* I, p. 152.

digestive system.[922] Hakim Fathullah Shirazi translated the famous *Qanun* of Abu Ali Sin a (Avicenna) into Persian for the benefit of the people.[923] Muhammad Qasim Ferishta, the famous author of *Tarikh-i Ferishta,* wrote *Dastur-i Atibba,* now popularly known as *Tibb-i Ferishta,* in order to create among the Muslims an interest in the Indian system of medicine.[924] During the same reign, Ma'sum Bhakhari, author of *Tarikh-i Sindh,* compiled a treatise on the treatment of diseases and drugs.[925] Similarly, in 1556 Shaikh Tahir authored *Fawaid-ul Fuad,* dealing with general medicine.[926]

During the reign of Jahangir, Muqarrab Khan and Hakim Ali Akbar were renowned surgeons.[927] Muqarrab Khan was also an expert bleeder and veterinarian.[928] Later his nephew Hakim Qasim also grew to become an expert bleeder.[929] Amanullah Firoz Jang Khanazad Khan, son of Mahabat Khan, famous noble under Jahangir and Shahjahan, had a sound understanding of medicine. His *Ganj-i Bad Awurd* is a good work on pharmacology. His second work, *Ummul Ilaj,* is a treatise on purgatives.[930]

Under Shahjahan as well, much work was done on pharmacology. Sheikh Muhammad Tahir, Hakim Ma'sum Shustari and Hakim Nuruddin Muhammad 'Ainul Mulk, grandson of Hakim Shamsuddin Ali Dawani 'Ainul Mulk (of Akbar's reign), have left behind books on pharmacology.[931] Hakim Ma'sum's *Qarabadin-i Ma 'sum* deals with the preparation of drugs, electuaries, pulps, pastes, syrups, tablets,

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[922] See R.L. Verma and V. Bijlani, 'Hakim Ali Gilani: Assessment of his Place in Greco-Medicine', *Studies* in *History of Medicine,* Vol. IV, No. 2, June 1980, pp. 98-99.
[923] *Tarjuma-i Kitab-ul Qanun,* MS., Riza Library, Rampur, No. 1272.
[924] *Tibb-i Ferishta,* MS., Maulana Azad Library, Subhanullah Collection, No.616/17, ff. 1-7.
[925] *Mufradat-i Sahih,* MS., Maulana Azad Library, Subhanullah Collection, No. 616/37.
[926] Cf. A. Rahman et. al., *A Bibliography of Source Materials,* p. 203.
[927] See *Tuzuk-iJahangiri,* I, p. 347,II, pp. 344, 364; Lahori, *Padshahnama,* I, p.350.
[928] *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri,* p. 347.
[929] Lahori, *Padshahnama,* II, pp. 350-51.
[930] Cf. A. Rahman et al., *Bibliography of Source Materials,* p. 21.
[931] *Ibid.,* pp. 202,134,164.

collyriums, enemas, gargles and ointments, as well as the effects of tea and coffee.[932] Hakim Nuruddin 'Ainul Mulk's *Alfazi Adwiyya* is an encyclopaedia of pharmacology,[933] while his *Ilajat-i Dara Shukohi* is a compendium of medical science basically instructing travellers on dietary precautions, anatomy, medicines etc.[934]

During the reign of Aurangzeb, Hakim Sanjak achieved much in the field of opthalmia.[935] Bernier says that Danishmand Khan was well-versed in anatomy.[936] He even had works ofWilliam Harvey on the circulation of blood, and Pecquet translated these into Persian for him.[937] Nurul Haq Sirhindi wrote *Ainul Hayat,* a rare work on plague.[938] Hakim Muhammad Akbar Arzani, a renowned physician of this reign, apart from translating a well-known commentary of the popular thirteenth-century pathological treatise by Najibuddin Samarqandi,[939] wrote a commentary on Chaghmini's *Qanuncha.*[940] Qazi Muhammad Arif wrote *Tibb-i Qazi Arif,* a general work on medicine containing prescriptions for diseases that are especially indigenous to India.[941]

It appears from the surviving manuscripts of works written on medicine and other sciences, now preserved in various repositories[942] that in Mughal India a large number of books on medicine were either written or compiled, translated or commented upon (see Tables 3 and 4). Under the early Mughals (sixteenth to seventeenth centuries) and later Mughals (eighteenth century) the largest number of

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932 *MS.*, Maulana Azad Library, Subhanullah Collection, No. 615/4.
933 *MS.*, Maulana Azad Library, *Farsiya Funun* (Suppl), *Tibb,9.*
934 *MS.*, Maulana Azad Library, Subhanullah Collection, No. 610, 3/9.
935 *Ma'asir-i Alamgiri,* p. 84.
936 Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire,* pp. 353-54.
937 *Ibid.*, pp. 324-25.
938 Cf. A. Rahman et al.. *Bibliography of Source Material,* p. 165.
939 *Tibb-i Akbari,* MSS., Maulana Azad Library, Subhanullah Collection, Nos. 616/15,616/6 cr.
940 *Mufarrihul Qulub,* MSS., Maulana Azad Library, University Farsiya Funun, 58; Subhanullah Collection, *61612;* Sir Sulaiman Collection, 580/5.
941 *MS.*, Maulana Azad Library, Subhanullah Collection, 616/16.
942 Tables 3 and 4 have been prepared on the basis of the information contained in A. Rahman et. al., *Bibliography of Source Materials.*

books written belonged to the field of medicine, as compared to astronomy and mathematics, the other two popular fields of study. A sudden impetus to the collection and writing of books on medicine started in the sixteenth century, which continued down to the eighteenth century. This trend was confined generally to works in Persian and Sanskrit; books in Arabic, on the other hand, either decreased or remained stable numerically.

TABLE 3*

	Medicine				*Astronomy*				*Mathematics*			
Century	*Pers-*	*Arab-*	*Sansk-*	*Total*	*Pers-*	*Arab-*	*Sansk-*	*Total*	*Pers-*	*Arab-*	*Sansk-*	*Total*
13th	4	33	31	68	11	21	8	40	5	30	2	37
14th	21	5	50	76	7	6	15	28	8	29	3	40
15th	18	1	36	55	25	32	47	104	8	22	4	34
16th	120	10	61	191	34	36	93	163	6	11	18	35
17th	102	12	122	126	39	30	190	259	23	25	14	62
18th	133	6	80	219	32	22	37	91	34	12	10	56

*Source: A. Rahman et. al., *Science and Technology in Medieval India: A Bibliography of Source Materials in Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian,* New Delhi, 1982.

TABLE 4*: *Categories of Books* on *Medicine (Persian)*

Century	Total	General	Specialized	Anthologies/ Compendiums	Dictionaries	Ecyclo- paedias	Comm- entaries	Translations
13th	4	1	2	-	-	-	-	1
14th	21	5	11	1	1	-	1	3
15th	18	4	10	-	3	-	-	-
16th	120	15	93	5	1	-	-	6
17th	102	10	68	5	4	3	2	10
18th	133	10	98	8	1	3	3	10

* Source: A. Rahman et. al., *Science and Technology in Medieval India: A Bibliography of Source Materials in Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian,* New Delhi, 1982.

Table 4 shows the trend of specialized books on medicine developing during the sixteenth century. The seventeenth century saw some decline followed by a steep rise under the later Mughals. The trend of anthologies and compendia, as well as translations of previous works also developed from the sixteenth century onwards.

VI

An interesting question can be asked about the physicians of medieval India: were these *tabibs* dogmatic in their approach or were they open to change? Some idea in this respect can be had from the discussion that is reported to have taken place at Akbar's court in 1603, on the use of tobacco. In this year Asad Beg Qazwini brought to the court from Bijapur a small sample of tobacco and a smoking pipe for the emperor. When Akbar showed an inclination to smoke, he was sought to be dissuaded by Hakim Ali Gilani, who argued that as nothing was mentioned regarding tobacco in

'our medical books', it would be risky to use it without making further investigations.[943] While one may not disapprove in principle of the advice that Hakim Ali Gilani gave on that occasion, one cannot help noting the intrinsic cause of the *hakim's* line of argument. For him nothing was permissible that was not sanctioned by the texts of *unani tibb* handed down by the great masters of earlier times. This obviously applied to the new ideas regarding medicine that were coming at this time from the west.

But then, did this not mean that the urge to improvize was absent among the Indian physicians? A stray reference by Manucci suggests that the surgeons, at least of the Deccan, improvized techniques that were a step forward towards the as yet unknown field of plastic surgery. He says that the native surgeons of Bijapur could fashion a crude nose for those who had this organ severed. They would cut the skin of the forehead above the eyebrows and make it fall down over the wounds on the nose. Then, giving it a twist, so that the live flesh might meet the other surface, and by healing applications, they fashioned for them a nose, though imperfect.[944] Manucci says he saw many persons with such noses.[945]

Thus we see that the physicians of Mughal India were members of a highly developed and skilled profession. It was only after proper training and schooling that they were allowed to become members of this profession. Although it cannot be denied that many of them were physicians by hereditary occupation,[946] a large number of them also became physicians due to training and interest. It further becomes apparent that these physicians could be classified into a number of categories. There were some who joined the service of the king or nobles, amongst them those who rose

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[943] Asad Bég, *Ahwal-i Asad Beg Qazwini,* MS. BM. OR. 1996 (Rotograph in Department of History, Aligarh Muslim University), ff. 36-37.
[944] Manucci, *Storia* Do *Mogor,*II, p. 282
[945] *Ibid.*
[946] See in this regard the statement of Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire,*p.259.

to high positions as *mansabdars*. Others joined service but were appointed to mediocre offices. From a number of Mughal miniatures, where physicians of these two groups are depicted, it is apparent that in spite of their affinity to the ruling classes, they were perceived to be different. Their attire resembles that of the religious classes. They are seen wearing heavy and circular *dastars* (headgear); the *jamas* they wore were shorter than those of the *mullas,* coming down only up to the knee, and had tight sleeves, quite unlike those of the religious classes. They are also frequently depicted wearing a shawl.

The third category of physicians receiving state patronage were those who, instead of being given *mansabs,* were awarded cash salaries. Then there were those who were only patronized through *in'ams* and grants. All these physicians were recruited and promoted on the basis of an assessment of their medical knowledge and experience. Further, they could leave their employers at will.

Largest in number were those who, for convenience sake, we may designate' *bazar* physicians'. These physicians had their own clinics and conducted private practice in conditions where the demand for their services was considerable. In general, physicians in Mughal India formed a distinct, non-theological professional class, held in high repute and able, as we have seen, to penetrate the ranks of the ruling classes. They thus formed a kind of primitive 'middle class' for their profession. The Mughal physicians whether in government service or outside it, were much in demand and enjoyed a respected position in the society as well as at the court.

[Chapter IV.ii]

Biography of a Mughal Surgeon: Shaikh Hasan Hassu Muqarrab Khan

[IV.ii] Biography of a Mughal Surgeon: Shaikh Hasan Hassu Muqarrab Khan

Physicians did not lack recognition in the Mughal Empire, and their names are often listed in Mughal histories along with the learned and the men of letters of the time.[947] In spite of this recognition they were not regarded as a part of the Mughal ruling aristocracy. It was therefore remarkable that a man like Muqarrab Khan, a surgeon and physician, who was equally known for treating elephants as for treating men, should have attained the high *mansab* of 5000 *zat* and 5000 *sawar*, and been appointed the governor of three provinces during Jahangir's reign.

The career of Shaikh Hasan Hassu, who was given the title of Muqarrab Khan by Jahangir,[948] was quite eventful. He belonged to a family of *Shaikhzadas*, that is of Indian Muslims.[949] He is first noticed when he assisted his father Bhina (or Baha, as in the Tuzuk), a surgeon of some repute,[950] in bleeding Akbar, when the emperor was afflicted with some injury in 1595-6.[951]

Muqarrab Khan attained much greater recognition with the accession of Jahangir. In the very first year of the reign he was granted the title by which he is known, and was deputed to accompany Daniyal's children coming to the court from Burhanpur.[952]

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[947] Abul Fazi, *Ain-i Akbari*, I, ed. Blochmann, Calcutta, 1867-77, P.543; Abdul Hamid Lahori, *Badshahnama*, I, ed., Vol. I, pt. i, p. 350 & passim.

[948] *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri*, ed. Saiyid Ahmad Khan, Ghazipur and Aligarh, 1863—64, p.12; Khwaja Ni'matullah, *Tarikh-i Khan Jahani*, Dhaka, p.667. It appears that Muqarrab Khan was popularly known as Abul Hasan. See J.J. Modi, *Dastur Kaikobad Mahayar's Petition and Laudatory Poem addressed to Jahangir and Shahjahan*, Bombay, 1930, Verse 152, p.13.

[949] The only reference we get of him in the *Zakhiratul Khwanin*, is that his grandfather hailed from Panipat. From Muhammad Salih's *Tabaqat-i Shahjahani* (MS. Deptt. of History, A.M.U., *f.* 570) we learn, however that he was from Sirhind.

[950] Abul Fazl mentions him in his list of physicians. *A'in*, I, p.543

[951] Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*, ed. Beveridge, R.A.S., Vol III, pp. 1061-62; Mu'tamid Khan, *Iqbalnama-i Jahangiri*, Nawal Kishore, 1870, Vol. II, pp.446

[952] . *Tuzuk*, I, p.12

In 1607 he was sent in an embassy to Goa.[953] Of this embassy, which proved abortive, Guerreiro says:

> The ambassador [Khan] was awaited at Goa by the Viceroy, Ruy Lourenco de Tauoro, who had also arrived, and had written to say that he might now come to Goa with all security. At the same time orders were given for one of our ships to bring him. But as he was at this time recalled by the king, he was unable to come. His duties as the Mogol's ambassador were therefore carried out by Fr. Pinheiro, who shared his office.[954]

It seems that at the time of his deputation to Goa in 1607, Muqarrab Khan was holding some position at Cambay.[955] It was during this mission that he tried to win over the Jesuits by expressing his love for their faith. He is alleged to have paid reverence to a painting of Jesus and Mary at Surat.[956] But it was perhaps more his aesthetic sense than faith in Christ's divinity that occasioned his admiration. Muqarrab Khan also allowed the Jesuit father, Pinheiro to treat his adopted son - later known as Masih-i Kairanawi – with Christian relics.[957]

Some time before 1611, Muqarrab Khan had been appointed as the Governor (presumably *mutasaddi*) of Cambay and then of Surat.[958] From there he is reported to

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[953] Account of Father Fernao Guerreiro, based on Fr. Pinheiro's letter written in November 1609. As for the object of this embassy, Guerreiro writes: "The embassy had for its object nothing more than the maintenance of friendly relations with the [Poruguese] State, while the Ambassadar [Muqarrab Khan] was instructed to bring back with him any rare and curious object he could procure in India for the Portuguese." (*Jahangir and Jesuits, with an Account of The Travels of Benedict Goes and the Mission to Pegu and the Relations of Father Fernao Guerreiro, S.J.*, tr. C.H. Payne, London, 1930, pt. 1., p.44). Also see Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, Great Britain, 1932, p.77.

[954] Payne, pt. I, pp. 86-7

[955] *Ibid*, p. 77

[956] Payne, I, p.78: "...... and so deeply was he impressed with the majority visible in their figures, that he said that it would be better not to have lived at all than to have lived without seeing so marvellous a work".

[957] Payne, I, p.79

[958] *Tuzuk*, 1, p.80; *Letters Received by the East India Company from its Servants in the East*, ed. Foster, Vol. I, pp. 23, 26, 33, 138 and 140. In 1607 or even earlier, his income was "fifty thousand *Pardaos*, besides a hundred and fifty thousand which he received from the king". (Payne, I, p. 77).

have sent European rareties as gifts to the Emperor.[959] Since the English had now arrived, he established contacts with them as well. The English complained that he was demanding gifts for which he did not pay or else procured them on very low prices.[960] This complaint seems to have continued till the very last.[961] At one time the English factors reported:

> ...as you have seen the nabob [Muqarrab Khan] by the hand of one man to buy all the trifles amongst the common people of the ships so you shall do well to remember to give advice that no man bring any of their things to land, which will procure great troubles and delays to the main business....[962]

It seems that in the beginning Muqarrab Khan was more inclined towards the Portuguese. Moreover, Fr. Pinheiro, a Jesuit father had dealt skilfully with him, having bribed him in such a manner that he might help the Portuguese as against the English.[963] Muqarrab Khan after having initially shown a friendly attitude towards the English agent William Hawkins in 1609 changed his attitude. But much as he wanted to hinder him, he could not have his wish as Hawkins claimed possession of a letter from the English King to the great Mughal.[964] It is alleged that in league with the Jesuits, Muqarrab Khan even tried to have Hawkins poisoned or killed on the way.

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[959] *Tuzuk*, I, p.80; see also Jourdain, *Journal*, 1608-17, ed. Foster, Hakluyt Society, 2nd Series, no XVI, Cambridge, 1905, pp 180-82.

[960] *Purchas his Pilgrims or Hakluytus Posthumus*, Samuel Purchas, Glasgow, 1905, Vol. IV, pp 21, 23 & 24; *Letters Received*, I, 23-24 & 33; *Ibid*, II, 135 & 138.

[961] The last entry in *English Factories in India, 1624-29*, ed foster, p 271 also ends with a complaint of delay in payment. See also *Ibid*, pp 151, 241.

[962] *Letters Received*, III, p. 31

[963] Account of Fr. Guerreiro in Payne, op. cit., pp 85—6; also see account of Hawkins in *Early Travels in India*, ed. Foster, OUP, reprint 1968, p. 84.

[964] Hawkins writes that this reluctance initially stemmed from the non-payment for the goods acquired by Muqarrab Khan from the English. It was further strengthened by the scheming of the Portuguese. Muqarrab Khan had agreed to grant licence to Hawkins to proceed towards Agra, but "the Father (Pinheiro) put into Mocreb Chan his head, that it was not good to let me passe: for that I would complaine of him unto the King. Thus he plotted with Mocreb Chan to overthrow my journey, which he could not doe, because I came from a King: but he said, that he would not let me have any force to goe with me." (Purchas, III p.9).

But the attempt proved abortive.[965] At Agra Jahangir accorded some favour to Hawkins and even made him a 'captain of four hundred horse'.[966] Hawkins still felt that Muqarrab Khan's machinations pursued him at Agra.[967]

In March 1610 Muqarrab Khan himself arrived at the court from Gujarat. But soon after he fell from grace, owing to a serious accusation brought against him. He had allegedly kidnapped a daughter of a Baniya and had presented her to one of his attendants.[968] His *mansab* was thus reduced to half.[969] There is unfortunately no information about his actual *mansab* before reduction. Muqarrab Khan did not however remain under a cloud for long and seems to have been restored to the Emperors' confidence soon afterward. Hawkins now tried to press him to clear his previous debts. But in the process he seems to have annoyed Khwaja Abdul Hasan 'the Chief Vizier', who along with Muqarrab Khan effectively obstructed Hawkins. Hawkins thought that Jahangir's decision to withdraw the privileges offered to the English was due to this intrigue.[970]

It was only after a war had ensued between the Portuguese and the Mughals that Muqarrab Khan began to seek the friendship of the English. He was pleased when he heard that the English had sunk a Portuguese ship and damaged another.[971] Sir Henry Middleton and Nicholas Downton inform us that in late 1611, Muqarrab Khan, as Governor of Cambay, came to visit Middleton in his ship anchored off Swally, near Surat, and stayed there for a night He even promised the English some concessions,

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[965] *Purchas*, III, pp 9-10; The Portuguese too report a misfortune which befell the English (Payne, p.86). This was but wishful thinking on the part of Jesuits when they talked of Hawkins slaughtered by robbers on way to Agra.
[966] *Purchas*, III, p. 14.
[967] *Ibid.*
[968] *Purchas*, III, pp.17-18; Jahangir too mentions this incident and puts the blame of the death of the girl on one of Muqarrab Khan's servant, for which he "had him put to death, and reduced Muqarrab Khan's *mansab* by one half..." (*Tuzuk*, 1983)
[969] *Ibid.*
[970] *Purchas*, III, pp. 19-20. Muqarrab Khan had written a letter to his Emperor against the English merchants.
[971] *Letters Received*, I, p. 138; also *Ibid*, III, p. 64.

though he was unable to keep his word. He was presented a Letter from King James I on which he was very much pleased, and promised Middleton that he would allow the setting up of a factory.[972] In return he asked for a treaty and assurance of English in any fighting with the Portuguese.[973] The Portuguese not surprisingly resented these negotiations and warned Muqarrab Khan to desist.[974] Muqarrab Khan rapidly changed his mind. On 27 January 1612 he reiterated his offer to help the English to establish a factory, but within two or three days he asked them to leave the port.[975] From Middleton's letter dated 18 May, 1612 addressed to the Mughal Emperor one can judge the annoyance the English factors now felt at Muqarrab Khan and his "unjust dealinge"[976]

Muqarrab Khan seems to have gone to Goa, some time in the early months of 1612, to buy paintings for the Emperor. In April 1612, Jahangir mentions his return.[977] The English factors too mention his visit to Goa at this time.[978] He was a suitable choice for the mission, since he once again succeeded in persuading the Portuguese that he was attracted to their religion. Indeed he was reported to have embraced Catholicism. Nicholas Withington in one of his despatches of November 17, 1613 says that:

> After this Mocrobacann proceeded on his journey for Goa, where (as the Portingals say and swear) he according to his desire was christened, saying he felt his conscience very light and jocund after his baptism.[979]

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[972] Account of Sir H. Middleton in *Purchas*, III, P.179; See also Jourdain, *op. cit.*, pp. 180-82.
[973] *Purchas*, IV, p.219: "that if I [Downton] would assist them [Mughals] against the Portugals, the Nabob would do us all the favour that in his power lyeth...". See also *Purchas*, IV, pp. 220, 222 & 258.
[974] *Letters Received*, I, pp 175-76; *Purchas*, III, p 271.
[975] *Purchas*, III, pp 184-5, also pp. 265-66
[976] Jourdain, pp 218-24.
[977] *Tuzuk* , pp 104-5
[978] *Letters Received*, III, p.298 n.
[979] *Ibid*: The story of conversion is further re-iterated by Bacarro.

Maclagan too refers to this 'conversion' but says that "the new convert was an 'imperfect Christian' and the authorities at Goa treated him with some circumspection."[980] He also refers to a letter which had been written by Muqarrab Khan on 3 April, 1615 wherein the name 'Jesu' was super scribed.[981]

On his return from the mission to Goa Muqarrab Khan brought rareties (paintings?) which highly pleased Jahangir.[982] He now seems to have been completely exonerated from the charges and was soon appointed Governor of the *suba* of Delhi.[983] It was in the same year that he was given very rapid promotions. In the 7th Regnal year, he was granted three enhancements in rank, raising his *mansab* from 2000/1000 to 2500/1500,[984] and then to 3000/2000.[985] He was also honoured with the grant of standard and kettledrums.[986]

One of the most important incidents in the life of Muqarrab Khan also occurred in 1612, during his tenure at *suba* Delhi. Soon after his appointment we find him treating Emperor Jahangir, who was reportedly suffering from the disease of *Khun-para* (congestion of blood). Upon his physicians advice Jahangir had blood let-out of his left arm to the amount of a *ser* (Mughal weight about 1 1/4 lb, *avdp*). The operation was successfully carried out by Muqarrab Khan.[987]

Muqarrab Khan thus appears to have been a great favourite of his Emperor, who always treated him generously and easily forgave his faults. Jahangir's

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[980] Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, London, 1932, p.78.
[981] *Ibid.*
[982] *Tuzuk*, pp 104-5: "according to orders he went with diligence to Goa, and remaining there for some time, took at the price the Franks asked for them the rareties he met with at the port, without looking at the face of money at all. When he returned from the aforesaid Port to the court, he produced before me one by one the things he had brought."
[983] *Tuzuk*, p. 109. Incidentally this is one of the few instances when Jahangir mentions him without compliments as "my closest friend", "my confidant".
[984] *Ibid*, p. 106
[985] *Ibid*, p. 112. On p. 105 of *Tuzuk*, Jahangir records his *mansab* as 3000/2000, but this seems to be a slip since on the very next page, while recording actual promotions, he records it correctly as 2000/1000.
[986] *Ibid*, p.112
[987] *Ibid*, p.110

favourable attitude towards him is illustrated by an incident of 1613. In this year the Portuguese organized a raid on the port of Surat and sacked four ships belonging to that port.[988] Muqarrab Khan who held Surat in his charge (*havala*), as Customer or *mutasaddi* was consoled by Jahangir by an award of a horse, elephant and robe of honour. He was then apparently at the Court.[989]

In retaliation to the Portuguese action Muqarrab Khan got St. Xavier and other Jesuits arrested at Surat in 1614 and closed their churches.[990]

In spite of this hostility between Muqarrab Khan and the Portuguese, the English continued to bear a grudge against him since he was still not letting them have direct access to the Emperor.[991] When he heard of the growing hostility between the English and the Portuguese (in 1614/1615), he seems to have become friendlier towards the English;[992] he naturally believed that a conflict between the two European powers could only be of benefit to the Mughals.[993] In any case he was indeed forced to take sides with the English by his fear of Portuguese naval raids.[994] Jahangir himself gave him a free hand to deal with the Europeans. He even forwarded king James I's letter to him to which Muqarrab Khan is reported to have replied on the

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[988] *Ibid,* p.125

[989] *Ibid.* This shows that Muqarrab Khan was at Agra and not at Surat. This is confirmed by the *Letters Received*, I, pp 277—81. It was in 1614 that Muqarrab Khan was ordered to procèed to Surat. Kerridge says that Muqarrab Khan was also the governor of Cambay at this time. See *Letters Received*, II, pp. 103-4.

[990] *Letters Received*, II, pp. 96, 107

[991] *Letters Received*, II, p. 176; *Ibid*, III, pp 37, 39, etc. "Master Aldworth strived to perswade me [Nick. Downton] that Mocrib Chan the Nabob was our friend, and that now as the best time by reason of their Warres (with Portugals) for us to obtain good trade and all privileges that in reason wee could demand..... I liking all their hopefull words, yet ever wishing some other in his place, and that Mocrib Can had been further a way, of whom I rested still in doubt, that we should have no free trade but according to his accustomed manner..." (*Purchas*, IV, pp 217-18).

[992] *Purchas*, IV, pp 224-25.

[993] *Ibid*, pp 225-26.

[994] *Ibid*, p. 243: "The cause of their request [the English to stay on at Surat), was their feare lest the Vice-Roy [of the Portuguese] after my [departure should come against Surat with all his forces." Thomas Elkington also writes of Muqarrab Khan's anxiety to befriend the English. *Ibid*.

Emperor's behalf.[995] The English factors, aware of his influence with the Emperor,[996] perhaps expected much more from him, and therefore felt that he was not really supporting them.[997] They even complained of the high rates that he was charging (5% instead of 3 1/2%) as customs.[998] We find that in 1615, it was with some reluctance that he let the English carry their gifts directly to Jahangir.[999]

This permission and the fact that he was passing to them information against the Portuguese brought some moderation in the English attitude towards him.[1000] The general complaint against him for non-payment and extraction of gifts nevertheless continued to the very end.[1001]

Jahangir's favours however continued. Muqarrab Khan was given further *mansab* enhancements: in 1616 he was promoted to the rank of 5000/2500.[1002] In 1617 again his rank was raised to 5000/5000[1003], and he was appointed *subahdar* of Gujarat.[1004] Thus within a short span Muqarrab Khan had attained the very prestigious rank of 5000/5000 which only a few could reach. Moreover he was given charge of one of the important *subah* of the Mughal Empire, which he held for a year or two.

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[995] *Letters Received*, II, p. 104: ".... and though I urged that Macrob Chan could give no answer to our kings letter, yet prevailed nothing...".

[996] *Letters Received*, II, pp 103-4, 157, 185; *Ibid*, III, p.23 points out that he is the instrument of the King to deal with the English.

[997] *Letters Received*, II, pp 138, 149, 151, 178, 239-40; *Ibid*, III, pp. 5, 22, 23, 37, 39, 43 & 44.

[998] *Letters Received*, II, p. 5

[999] *Ibid*, p. 22; The suspicion of the English regarding the contacts of Muqarrab Khan and the Portuguese appears to be justified in the light of a Treaty of Peace signed by Muqarrab Khan and the Portuguese Gocalo Pinto da Fonseca on 7th June 1615. As per this treaty it was decided that the Mughals and the Portuguese "will not engage in any trade" with the English and Dutch merchants, nor will they be sheltered in the ports, or supplied with provisions. For this document see *Indian Historical Records Commission*, Vol. IX, pp. 78-80 and S.A.I. Tirmizi, *Mughal Documents (1526-1627)*, New Delhi, 1989, pp. 97-98.

[1000] *Ibid*, pp. 51-52, 325; Nicholas Downton: "The twelfth [1615] Lacandas came downe, informing me from the Nabob (he being so assured by the Jesuits, with whom he always kept faire weather for his better securitie, if we should be put to the worse) that there were sixe or eight [Portuguese] Frigates gone to the Northwards, with four or five Fireboats to be let drive among us in the night; and therefore wished carefully to looke out, for that it should be when we should least expect. I allowed his kindnesse, was glad of his carefull regard...". *Purchas*, IV, p.241; See also *Ibid*. pp 262—3.

[1001] *English Factories,1624-29*, pp 151, 241 & 271.

[1002] *Tuzuk*, p. 149

[1003] *Ibid*, p. 163.

[1004] *Ibid*; also Thomas Roe, *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe,1615-19*, ed. Foster, London, 1926, p. 424.

Muqarrab Khan's appointment as Governor of Gujarat evoked criticism by the contemporaries. Khan-i Azam is reported by the English Factors to have considered it unsuitable.[1005] This criticism is also voiced by Lahori, who says that Jahangir was unable to recognize talent and was indiscreet in selecting people.[1006]

After his term as Governor of Gujarat, Muqarrab Khan was sent to Bihar in 1618,[1007] though initially he appeared reluctant to go there. He delayed going to Patna and came to the Court,[1008] perhaps to plead against his transfer; but the transfer was not revoked and he ultimately proceeded to take his post there.

At Patna Muqarrab Khan is reported to have helped construct some Jesuit Churches and kept a priest, so that he might maintain his links with the Portuguese and thus enrich himself.[1009]

It was during this time that the Emperor visited Kairana, the native place of Muqarrab Khan where he had established a garden which was reputed for its variety of fruits. Jahangir visited this garden in 1619, when he went there with the Imperial ladies.[1010] He seems to have been so impressed that in 1620 again he makes an entry in his memoirs of having gone to Kairana a second time.[1011]

[1005] *English Factories, 1622-23*, p. 282

[1006] Abdul Hamid Lahori, *Badshah nama*, ed. K. Ahmad & A. Rahim, A.S.B., Calcutta, 1867, Vol.1, pt.i., p.159.

[1007] *Tuzuk*, p.244; Shah Nawaz Khan, *Ma'asir-ul Umara*, ed. Molvi Ashraf Ali, Vol. III, pt.i, p.381; *English Factories, 1618-21*, p.9, note Muqarrab Khan as "our then governor Muckrob Chan...." hinting that by February he had been transferred.

[1008] *Tuzuk*, p.271: "Before this, an order had been given that Muqarrab Khan, having been appointed to Bihar, should hasten off there. He came to the Court in order to pay his respects before he repaired to his destination...".

[1009] Maclagan, *op.cit.*, pp 78-79. Maclagan quotes Father Simon Figueredo's letter of December 20th, 1620, wherein the father says that Muqarrab Khan kept a priest "with no other object than that of attracting Portuguese trade, from which he could enrich himself". But this in no way hindered his friendship with the English. For we are informed that he even helped English Factor Hughes to find a house on rent in the heart of the city "on a rent of Rs. 6/12 - per months. N.N. Ray, *The Annals of the early English Settlement in Bihar*, Calcutta, 1927, p.24.

[1010] *Tuzuk*, 283: "Truly it is a very fine and enjoyable garden".

[1011] *Ibid*, p. 324.

Muqarrab Khan remained in Bihar till 1622 when he was given the Governorship of the province of Agra for one year.[1012] Robert Hughes, an English Factor at Patna, while recording the replacement of Muqarrab Khan from Bihar by Sultan Pervez, says that Muqarrab Khan upon the end of his term despatched Rs.300, 000 to Agra by means of bills - an amount sufficiently large as to disturb the exchange between the two places.[1013]

We have little information about Muqarrab Khan after 1623 in Persian sources. According to the *Ma'asir-ul Umara* he was now appointed second *Bakhshi* of the Empire.[1014] Factory Records show that he also held the charge of the port of Surat in that year.[1015]

In 1628 Muqarrab Khan was retired from active service by Shahjahan, obviously because of the trust he had enjoyed at his father's court.[1016] Farid Bhakhari informs us that he spent the rest of his time in tending his gardens and orchards.[1017] The main source of income for him was from his *watan* Kairana, which was granted to him by Shahjahan as *suyurghal*. The income from this place, we are told, amounted to one lakh of rupees.[1018] In 1635 he is also mentioned as the *tuyuldar* (*jagirdar*)of Sambhal by Lahori.[1019]

[1012] *Ibid*, p.375; Mu'tamid Khan, *Iqbal Nama-i Jahangiri*, ed. Abdul Hai & Ahmad Ali, Calcutta, 1865, Vol. III, p. 178; *Ma'asir-ul Umara*, III, p. 381. *Tuzuk* (p.394) only mentions that "Having conferred on Muqarrab Khan, who is one of the old officials, the government and administration of Agra, I gave him his leave".
[1013] *English Factories*, 1618-21, pp.236, 248. On p.248, Hughes writes to the President and Council of Surat that: "money received from Agra and invested. Accounts cleared with Muqarrab Khan....".
[1014] *Ma'asir-ul Umara*, III, p. 381. "...was appointed as the second *Bakhshi* of the Empire and thus came closer to Jahangir".
[1015] *English Factories*, 1622-23, p. 282: "The report here is that the King hath given the government of Surrat to Macrob Chaun...".
[1016] Lahori, I, i. p.159: The prejudices of contemporaries against him are well reflected through Lahoris words. See also Shaikh Farid Bhakkari, *Zakhiralul Khawanin*, ed.Moinul Haq, Karachi, 1970, Vol II, pp 271-73; *Ma'asir-ul Umara*, III, p. 381.
[1017] *Zakhiratul Khawanin*, II, pp 271-73; *Ma'asir-ul Umara*, III, p. 381.
[1018] Lahori, I, ii, p. 350
[1019] *Ibid*, I, ii, p.76.

Muqarrab Khan was by his family profession a surgeon, and it was owing to this that he seems to have initially won Jahangir's favour. Even after he had attained high *mansabs*, he continued to pursue his family profession. The proficiency of Muqarrab Khan in the field of Medicine was such that he was praised by Farid Bhakkari as the Avicenna and Galen of the Age.[1020] This was of course exaggerated praise. But even Lahori admits that Muqarrab Khan was incomparable in the field of surgery (*jarrahi*).[1021] He is also reputed to have been interested in treating elephants for their disorders.[1022] Two of his works, *Ain-i Ashkar* and *'Ain-us Shifa* survive to this day. Both these works are based on the *Tibb-i Sikandari*. The first relates to symptoms and diseases,[1023] while the second deals with drugs, their preparation, properties, temperament, degrees of efficacy and tested cures.[1024]

Muqarrab Khan's activities were not confined to the administrative, diplomatic and medical fields only. He seems to have taken much interest in horticulture, hunting, architecture and collecting all kinds of curiosities and rareties.

Thus in 1614-15 when he presented a list of items to the English Factors, which he wanted to procure for the Emperor, he included 'pictures in cloth', canines of several varieties like 'mastiffs, greyhounds, spaniels and other small dogs'.[1025] We also know that a rare bird, the Turkey- cock (*Meleagris galhparo*) which was brought by the Portuguese from Goa, was presented to the Emperor by Muqarrab Khan in 1612.[1026] Jahangir also notes that in 1616 Muqarrab Khan had made a present to him

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[1020] *Zakhiratul Khawanin*, II, pp. 271-72; *Ma'asir-ul Umara*, III, p. 380.
[1021] Lahori, I, ii, p.350; See also Muhammad Sadiq, *Tabaqat-i Shahjahani*, MS. Maulana Azad Library, *ff.* 570-71.
[1022] Lahori, I, ii, p. 350.
[1023] MS. Bankipur Library, Patna.
[1024] *MS*. Central State Library, Cf. A Rahman, MA Alavi & c (ed), *Science and Technology in Medieval India – a Bibliography of Source Materials in Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian*, New Delhi, 1982.
[1025] *Letters Received*, II, p. 173; also, Memorandum of Downton in *The Voyage of Nicholas Downton to the East Indies, 1614-15*, p. 187.
[1026] . *Tuzuk*, pp 104-5; also see M.A. Alavi and A. Rahman, *Jahangir - the Naturalist*, New Delhi, 1968, pp 63-4; and A. Jan Qaisar, *The Indian Response to European Technology*, OUP, 1982, p. 152.

of a small African elephant which greatly pleased the Emperor.[1027] The ability to please the King in this manner stood him so well with the Emperor that his portrait adorned the wall of the *Diwan khana* in Lahore along with the portraits of other great nobles like Khan-i Jahan, Sharif Khan, Mahabat Khan and others.[1028]

It appears that Muqarrab Khan was quite successful as a merchant as well. Apart from procuring gifts for the Emperor, he carried on private trade as well. His commercial links with both Portuguese and English merchants are time and again alluded to in the Factory Records. In 1611 when he visited an English ship along with Khwaja Nizam, he is alleged to have "busied himself in buying of Knives, Glasses or any other toyes he found."[1029] Middleton also tells us of the commercial transactions which he conducted along with Muqarrab Khan and Khwaja Nizam, a prominent merchant of Gujarat:

> "...I went to him to his tent, where after friendly salutation and complements past, we fell to treat of businesse; and agreed for prices of all our Lead, Quick-silver, and Vermilion and for their goods likewise in liew thereof ".[1030]

The Khwaja Nizam who appears to have been a business partner of Muqarrab Khan was reportedly such an influential merchant that no other merchant dared to trade with the English "without his prevention and leave", and he was thus able to dictate terms to the English merchants.[1031]

Probably it was due to the commercial acumen of Muqarrab Khan that all the business concerning the English factors in Gujarat was handed over by the Emperor to him:

[1027] *Tuzuk*, p. 158
[1028] Narrative of William Finch as given in Purchas, IV, p.54.
[1029] *Purchas*, III, pp. 179 & 262-3.
[1030] *Ibid*, pp. 180 & 265-6. Apart from these commodities, we find Muqarrab Khan dealing in the trade of various kinds of cloth. See, for example, *Purchas*, IV, pp 224-5.
[1031] *Purchas*, III, pp 180-81; *Ibid*, IV, pp 219-20.

"....all business concerning us and our trade is referred unto him, and as he adviseth so things here will pass, and what he granteth there will be confirmed here....".[1032]

In his commercial transactions, Muqarrab Khan made full use of his administrative office. Thus we find him forcing the English to sell their goods at lower prices.[1033] Further, t appears that he had some of his own ships through which he carried on his private trade.[1034] We are told that among his contemporaries, Muqarrab Khan "hath more adventures at sea than any of this country."[1035]

Muqarrab Khan also showed some interest in European technology. In 1612, he asked the English factors to provide him a model of a 'Chaine-pumpe', which, it seems, was presented to him.[1036] He had even wanted to 'experience' the use of the window-panes, which unfortunately could not be fulfilled by the English Factors due to the non-availability of a glass-maker.[1037] Then in 1621 he is said to have purchased a 'looking-glass' at the high price of Rs. 300.[1038]

Muqarrab Khan also tried to emulate some European fashions. In 1615 he asked to be presented with an English suit which was given to him at Surat. The English suspected that his desire to have this suit was just to show off to the women of his harem.[1039] The *Tuzuk* records that he even received a hat from the Europeans.[1040]

1032 *Letters Received*, II, p.157
1033 See, for example, *Purchas*, IV, pp 21, 23, 24; *Letters Received*, II, p.138.
1034 *Purchas*, III, p.176; *Ibid*, IV, pp 224—5; *English Factories, 1618-21*, p.19.
1035 *Letters Received*, I, p.307; *Purchas*, III, p.2.
1036 *Purchas*, III, pp 263-4; A.J. Qaisar, "Merchant Shipping in India during 17th Century", *IESHR*, Vol V, no.2, June 1968, p 198,n.1.
1037 *English factories, 1618-21*, p.11
1038 *Ibid*, p.246. On p.327, there is a reference to a 'looking-glasse' sold. We are however not told of the identity of the buyer.
1039 Farewell's account in the *Voyage of Downton*, p.150.
1040 *Tuzuk*, p.155

Muqarrab Khan was known for his attention to orchards and gardens. He had established his family seat at Kairana, to which he ultimately retired. It was a *pargana* in the *Sarkar* Saharanpur (it lies 31 miles from Muzaffarnagar and belongs to the same district). It is situated partly in the lowlying areas of the Jamuna and partly on a sloping bank.[1041] The geography and its location gives it a very fertile soil. It was here that Muqarrab Khan laid out a complex of buildings with a very large orchard. The *baradari* and tank survive.[1042] He also built a *dargah* over the tomb of Shah Sharaf Bu Ali Qalandar in Panipat according to his contemporary Farid Bhakkhari.[1043]

His gardens at Kairana obtained great repute. Here he planted fruits, especially mangoes, brought from all parts of the country.[1044] The mangoes of his orchards were such that they could even be got even two months after the mango season was over in India.[1045] We unfortunately do not know about the varieties of mangoes or other fruits that he planted, or whether he made use of grafting techniques, which his friends the Portuguese had certainly introduced to produce the first grafted mango, the Alfonso. As Governor of Gujarat, Muqarrab Khan had renovated old buildings and built *jharokas* (lattice-windows) at Ahmadabad.[1046]

In his last years Muqarrab Khan spent his life peaceably in his harem of 1000 women and tending the mausoleum of Shah Sharaf Bu Qalandar.[1047] He died at the age of about 90 in AH 1056/1646.[1048]

[1041] Edwin T. Atkinson, *Statistical Description and Historical Account of the North-Western Provinces of India*, Vol. III, pt. II, Allahabad, 1876, p 685; H.R. Nevill, *Muzaffarnagar, A Gazetteer being volume III of the District Gazetteers of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh*, Allahabad, 1903, pp 267-8.
[1042] Atkinson, p. 685; Nevill, p. 268; A. Fuhrer, *The Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North Western Provinces and Oudh*, Varanasi, 1969, p13.
[1043] *Zakhiratul Khawanin*, II, p.272.
[1044] *Zakhiratul Khawanin*, II, p. 271-73; *Ma'asir-ul Umara*, III, ppp 381-82. According to the *Tajul Ma'asir*, the mangoes of Kairana were long celebrated in Delhi (cf. Atkinson, p. 686; Nevill, p 268).
[1045] *Tuzuk*, p. 283.
[1046] *Tuzuk*, p. 162.
[1047] Rizqullah built this saints' tomb some eight years before Muqarrab Khan's death. See Nevill, p. 267.

Muqarrab Khan left behind three sons and a daughter. One of the sons, Rizqullah is known to have maintained his father's profession of physician and attained the rank of 800 during Shahjahan's reign.[1049] In 1649 a sum of Rs. 1000/ was also fixed in his name by the Emperor.[1050] A brother, Shaikh Abdur Rahim, had acted as his *naib* when Muqarrab Khan was at Cambay in 1611.[1051] Abdur Rahim's son, Shaikh Qasim, was an expert surgeon, having mastered the craft under the guidance of Muqarrab Khan himself. He was also well-versed in mathematics.[1052] Of his other relatives, mention is made of a son-in-law who is said to have been "a very ingenious young man" helping Muqarrab Khan in his diplomatic and administrative missions.[1053]

Muqarrab Khan's was a colourful life: as a physician, noble, man of culture, diplomat, furnished with many of the virtues and vices of the Mughal nobility. In part too his career is representative of Jahangir's policy of bringing in new elements into the nobility: the *Shaikhzadas* (Indian Muslim) were those who particularly benefited from his favours.[1054] But Muqarrab Khan possessed the qualities that Jahangir particularly liked: a man of skill and taste - and perhaps conversation. With Jahangir passed a particular age in the Mughal court: and the curtain dropped on men like Muqarrab Khan who could not as easily claim the attention of a cold and calculating intellect like that of Shahjahan.

[1048] Lahori, II, ii, p. 613. Though the author of *Tabaqat-i Shahjahani* (*f.*570) gives 1050 AH / 1650-41 AD as the year of his death.

[1049] *Ma'asiru-ul Umara*, III, p. 382. Aurangzeb gave him the title of Khan, and he ultimately died in 1668 AD. See Atkinson, p. 589.

[1050] Muhammad Waris, *Badshahnama*, MS Rampur, (transcript copy in Dept. of History Library, AMU), Vol I, p.71.

[1051] Jourdain, p. 173; Lahori, I, ii, p.351; Purchas, III, p.3

[1052] Lahori, I, ii, 350—51.

[1053] Purchas, IV, p.245

[1054] See M. Athar Ali, *Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb*, Bombay, 1968.

Chapter V

Architects and Engineers

[V] Architects and Engineers

The imperial monuments of the Mughal period have long attracted attention of historians; and much has been written on the various aspects of their designs, structural and decorative features. On the persons who built them, little has been how ever written. Moreover, it has to be remembered that Mughal India has a building industry which extended much beyond the grand structures.

That is, there were smaller men too who built their houses. Lahori informs us of a large number of merchant.-houses in the vicinity of the Taj Mahal .[1055] The members of the petty bureaucratic class, who time and again keep on complaining of paucity of money and office had constructed houses of their own which are alleged to have been built at large expenses.[1056] Merchants of Ahmadabad had built a number of houses and shops.[1057] Thevenot, Careri, Fryer and Ovington testify to the well built stone and masonry houses of merchants at Surat.[1058] Other travellers speak about the houses of the mercantile community in Lahore, Agra and. other such places.[1059]

Here an attempt is being made to bring together as much information as is obtainable about the architects and building workers whose labours sustained this large building industry. Admittedly, our information tends to be larger for workers

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[1055] Lahori, *Badshah nama*, ed. K.Ahmad and Abdur Rahim, Vol. II (1868), pp. 330-31.

[1056] For example see Bayazid Bayat, *Tazkira-i Humayun wa Akbar*, ed. Hidayat Hosein, Calcutta, 1941, pp. 375, 376; Surat Singh, *Tazkira-i Pir Hassu Taili*, MS., Deptt. of History, AMU, *ff.* 176(a), 181 (b); Bhimsen, *Nuskha-i Dilkusha*, MS.,BM Or.23 (Rotograph, Deptt. of History, AMU), *f.* 24(b).

[1057] For example, Santidas Sahu, a Jeweller of repute under Shahjahan and Aurangzeb had a series of houses in Ahmadabad See M A Chaghtai, "A Rare Historical Scroll of Shahjahan' s Reign", *JASP*, vol XVI, No 1 April, 1971. For a correct translation of the same see Jawaid Akhtar, "Santidas's Property in Ahmadabad— an analysis of his Gift-deed, 1657", presented at IHC, Srinagar, 1986 (unpublished).

[1058] Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri, ed. S. Sen, N. Delhi, 1949, pp. 22-23, 163; J. Fryer, A New Account of East India and Persia in Eight Letters being Nine Years Travels - begun 1672 and Finished 168l, Delhi, 1985, p. 92; J Ovington, Voyage to Surat in the year 1689, ed, H.G. Rawlinson, London, 1929, p. 130.

[1059] Pelsaert, *The Remonstantie or Jahangir's India*, tr. Moreland and P. Geyl, Delhi, 1972, pp.4-5; Account of William Finch in *Hykluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrims, ed.* Samuel Purchas, Glasgow, 1905, Vol. IV, pp. 52, 75; Tavernier, *Travels in India*, tr. V Ball, New Delhi, 1977, pp.1, 46; Bernier, *Travels in the Mughol Empire, l656-68 AD*, tr.A. Constable, Delhi, 1968, pp.384, 298, also 246, 284-5.

employed for the imperial/official buildings than for the private, but some inferences can be drawn for the latter as well.

Even on the official establishments our information is much more slender than we could have wished. Quite often when our Persian chroniclers are found narrating the building of various fort's, bridges, *havelis* or gardens, instead of providing the names of the architects or master-masons, general expressions just suggesting their skill (as architects) – *me'maran-i jadu asar* and *najjaran-i azarkar* or *muhandisan-i firdaus barin* - have been used.[1060]

When Khwand Amir discusses the division of society into three classes, he fails to mention the architects who must have formed an important group during his time. Even Abul Fazl who devoted a full section on the building establishment and provides the names of men of standing, intellectuals and artists, fails to name the architects of his age, as he does for the physicians. The same appears to be the case with Badauni and the author of the *Tabaqat-i Akbari*. Yet to say that the Persian sources are totally silent as far as the building establishment under the Mughals is concerned will not be entirely correct.

These sources refer to specific officers or professional men, e.g. the *mir-i imarat* and *darogha-i imarat* who appear to have headed the Building establishment. Other members which are mentioned in our sources were the *me'mar* (architect/mason), *muhandis* (architect), *naqsha-navis* (Plan drawer), *naqqash* (carver), *sangtarash* (stone-cutter), *gul tarash* (floral designer), *parchinkar* (Inlayer/engraver) and the *najjar* (carpenter) apart from a hoard of other artisans and labourers.

[1060] See for example Lahori, *op.cit.* Vol. I, pt.i, p. 221; Muhammad Salih Kambo, *Amal-i Salih* ed. G Yazdani, Calcutta. 1923, Vol. II, p. 294.

The *mir-i imarat* was an official who supervised the construction of a building or an edifice. It was he who apart from supervising the construction was also responsible for the recruitment of the various masons, artisans and labourers. While dealing with details of various bureaucratic offices and positions under the Mughals, the author of the *Hidayat-ul Qawaid* gives the qualifications that were deemed necessary for an efficient *mir-i imarat*. On his authority we come to know that this officer was a person who was aware of the art of construction and as also possessed a sound knowledge of accounts (*hisab*).[1061] If he himself was not well versed in *hisab*, he was to hire a person who was a master in it. The *mir-i imarat* was also required to have some technological knowledge as well. Thus he was supposed to know the number of bricks that were needed to construct a house of a certain size, the method of preparing the mortar and the quantity of its ingredients.[1062] Apart from this, he was required to be aware of the prevailing wages of the masons, artisans and labourers. Hidayatullah cautions that the *mir-i imarat* should also be aware of the prices of the lime, bricks, wood and other building material so that the person having the edifice built remains satisfied. His dealings with the subordinates were also supposed to be such that the work could be carried out in a congenial atmosphere and at a rapid pace.[1063] We are further told that if the chief architect (*sardar-i mi'mar*) was rewarded with a robe of honour or some other gift from the court, the *mir-i imarat* was supposed to make gifts to the other workers in a similar manner from his own account so that they may not be disheartened.[1064]

Once the building was fully constructed it was put under the supervision of the *darogha-i imarat*, the Incharge of the buildings, who was responsible for its upkeep

[1061] Hidayatullah Bihari, *Hidayat ul Qawaid*, Ms., University Collection, Azad Library, AMU, *f.* 40(a).
[1062] *Ibid*, f 40(b)
[1063] *Ibid.*
[1064] *Ibid.* For his responsibilities also see, Gopal Rai Surdaj, *Durrul Ulum*, *f.* 60(a) (Rotograph in the Research Library of the Department of History, Aligarh).

and repairs as the need arose.[1065] To help him discharge his duties, a number of *ahadis,*[1066] *banduqchis*[1067] and a host of diggers (*beldars*)[1068] were placed under his charge.

Before the actual construction could start, it appears that certain experts were asked to submit a plan for the same. Our 16th and 17th century sources, however, have very few references as to how these plans were made. It is only in the 18th century, when books of tourist interests for the Taj were prepared that we find a detailed mention of *naqsha navis.*[1069] Interestingly enough in these works, the *naqsha navis* is mentioned as the chief architect. The mere absence of a mention of *naqsha navis* does not necessarily mean the non-existence of this profession. The sheer magnitude of the Imperial buildings and their symmetrical appearance hints towards the existence of expert plan- drawers. We find Babar lamenting at the asymmetrical and un-planned buildings which he found on coming to India.[1070] One of the surviving *Akbarnama* paintings preserved at Victoria and Albert Museum shows Babur over seeing the laying out of the *Bagh-i Wafa* Garden. The painting contains a depiction of

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[1065] Similar supervisory distinction can be seen in the canal construction work. The actual digging of the canal, building of dykes, the control and disbursement of wages to masons and artisans was the job of *mir-i ab*. See for example, Akbar's *sanad* of 978 (1570-71) in Lieut., Yule, 'A canal Act of the Emperor Akbar with some notes and remarks on the History of Western Jumna Canal', *JASB*, 1846, vol.XV, Calcutta, pp.213-23; also Memorandum on Chitung River (1635) contained in *Letters of Shaikh Jalal Hisari and Balkrishan Brahman*, MS (Rotograph Deptt. of History). Badauni informs that Nuruddin Muhammad Tarkhan, who was an expert in the science of *hindsa, reyazi* and *nujum* was appointed as *mir-i ab* to dig Shah Nahr by Akbar, Badauni, *Muntakhab-u Tawarikh*, ed. Molvi Ahmad Ali, Calcutta, 1869, Vol. IV, p. 197. After a canal was completed, it was placed under the charge of *darogha-i nahr* who with the help of his *gumashtas* and *mutasaddis* looked after its upkeep and collected the nahrana. He was also entitled to recruit labourers for the repair work. See, for example, B.N Goswami and J.S. Grewal, *The Mughal & Sikh Rulers and the Vaishnavas of Pindori*, IIAS, Simla, 1969, Document No. III, pp. 94-95; also J.S. Grewal, 'Some Persian Documents from Nurpur', *Historians Punjab: Miscellaneous Articles, Amritsar*, 1974, pp. 79-80.

[1066] Mughal Documents, *Catalogue Of Aurangzeb's Reign*, ed. M.A. Naeem, Vol.1, Pt.I, document Nos. 1/204 arid 1/1468.

[1067] *Ibid*., Document No. 1/96.

[1068] *Ibid*., Document nos. 1/131, 1/151, 1/735.

[1069] For example, *Diwan-iAfridi, Tarikh-i Taj Mahal, Ahwal-i Taj Mahal* etc. For their references and date of compilation see R. Nath, *The Tal Mahal and its Incarnation*, Jaipur, 1985; S.M. Latif, *Agra: Historical and Descriptive*, Calcutta, 1896 (new ed. pub. 1981), pp. 116-7; S.C. Mukherji, "Architecture of the Taj and its Architect", *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol., I,1933, Calcutta, pp. 872-9, etc.

[1070] Shaikh Zain Khawafi, Tabaqat-i Baburi, tr. Hasan Askari, Delhi, 1982, p.108.

a man supervising the work with the help of a rectangular graph- paper. The men to whom the instructions are being given are shown holding a long rope with which they are measuring the garden-beds. In all probability the same methods were used in the construction of buildings as well. For only then can one appreciate the Emperors indignation at the un-planned buildings of India.[1071] An interesting passage in Manucci's account very lucidly brings out the detailed manner in which the plans of houses were drawn by the architects before the actual construction. Discussing the whimsical nature of a Mughal noble, Ja'far Khan, he writes:

> "...But it was a stranger thing he [Ja'far Khan] did when the architect brought him the plans of a fine palace that he intended to build. For after asking as to *various sections of the plan, he ended by inquiring about a certain place, where were depicted the privy retreats*. The architect said it was the necessary place, whereupon he held his nostrils with his right hand, and puckering up his face, made a sign with his left to take the plan away, as if it smelt merely through having this painting on it."[1072]

The Mughal sources generally mention the term *tarah* for plan drawing. Abul Qasim Namakin in his *Mushat* includes *tarahi* or plan-drawing, as one of the essential functions of the *me'mar*.[1073] Further,we are informed that the fort of Shahjahanabad was constructed as per the *tarah* ratified by the emperor himself.[1074] Salih Kanboh informs that even the covered *bazar* (*bazar-i musaqqaf*) at the fort was constructed after Shahjahan, having seen a *tarah* of a similar market at Baghdad, ordered it (the

[1071] A plan of the houses of Santidas Sahu which were gifted by him survives in a *hibanama*, see M.A. Chaghtai's article in *JASP, op.cit.*
[1072] Manucci, II, p.146.
[1073] Abul Qasim Namakin, *Munshat-i Namakin*, Aligarh Collection, Maulana Azad Library, AMU, no. *farsiya* 26, *f.* 133 (b)
[1074] Waris, *Padshahnama*, Ms. (transcript Research Library, Department of History, AMU, Aligarh), p.39; see also Shahnawaz Khan, *Ma'asir ul Umara*, ed. Abdur Rahim & Ashraf Ali, Bib.Ind., Calcutta, 1881-91, III, p.463.

tarah) to be sent to Mukarramat Khan, the supervisor of the Red Fort.[1075] Asaf Khan, we are informed was an expert in *tarahi* and it was he who placed a number of plans for the proposed *khwabgah* (bed-chamber) at Lahore Fort made by certain 'expert architects' (*ustādān*) before Shajahan, who then, chose one plan which was ultimately executed by the engineers (*muhandisān*).[1076] The making of the *tarah* is also mentioned in some of the surviving Mughal documents. For example, *Nigarnama-i Munshi,* a manual or the guidance of Mughal bureaucrats contains a reference to the preparation of a *tarah* of a damaged building at Peshawar during the reign of Aurangzeb.[1077] Similarly another document of Aurangzeb's reign refers to Jawaharmal, a *me'mar,* who prepared a *tarah* of a *haveli* of a dead noble.[1078]

Sometimes the term *naqsha* was also used to refer to a plan. For instance; Salih Kanboh tends to use both terms, the *tarah* and the *naqsha.*[1079] Shahnawaz Khan in his *Ma'asirul Umara* informs us that the Mughal court possessed the *naqsha* of both Baghdad and Isfahan.[1080]

Interestingly enough, the Persian chroniclers have recorded the details of many Major monuments of their period. These details include even the minor intricacies like the thickness of the plinth, the height of the various portions, their respective length and breadth, the curvature of the dome etc. For a person like Lahori it would not have .been possible to discuss the details of a building of such dimensions as the Taj, unless he was guided by a plan or map placed before him.[1081]

[1075] *Amal-i Salih,* op.cit., II, pp.471-72.
[1076] Lahori, II,*op.cit.,* p.224; *Amal-i Salih,* op.cit., II, p. 8
[1077] Munshi Malikzada, *Nigarnama-i Munshi,* Ms. No. 36, Research Library, Department of History, AMU, Aligarh, *ff.* 157 (a)-(b).
[1078] *Akhbar* dated 43rd RY of Aurangzeb, *Akhbār- darbar mu'alla,* Royal Asiatic Society, London (microfilm Research Library, Department of History, AMU, Aligarh, no. 30)
[1079] *Amal-i Salih,* op.cit., III, p.28.
[1080] *Ma'asir ul Umara,* op.cit., II, p.469; For the *naqsha* of a Deccan Fort to be conquered by Aurangzeb, see, *Kalimat-i Taiyabat,* ed. Inayatullah Khan, Ms., Aligarh Collection, Maulana Azad Library, AMU, Aligarh, *farsiya, 39, no. 278.*
[1081] Lahori, *op.cit.,* Vol. II, pp. 323-31.

The manner in which he describes the bulbous dome of the mausoleum also alludes to his source of information. At no place, however, does he deal with the material used or the methods applied in the actual construction.

We also find that the builders under the Mughals had certain rules based on which the plan might have been drawn. Thus the author of *Bayaz-i Khushbui* writing in the reign of Aurangzeb gives examples of details of certain mansions and gardens in order to stress how the houses, baths and gardens should be ideally constructed.[1082] Dealing with arched-gates of buildings, the author comments:

> "The breadth of the gate of the building should be 1 *dira*, the height 2 *dira* and its *chaukhat* should be one foot high. If the dimensions are less than this, it (the gate) would look ugly."[1083]

It appears that the art of draughtsmanship flourished well in our period. Thus it will not be out of place to stress the existence and use of the *naqsha navis* under the Mughals.

The actual construction work was carried out by the *me'mar*. A perusal of the sources shows that the term *me'mar* denoted a mason. The word was frequently also used for the chief or supervisor. The chief architect under whose supervision the other architects constructed the Agra Fort is called a *me'mar* by Gulbadan in her *Memoirs*.[1084] Similarly the Fort of Delhi, was completed under the able directions of Ustad Ahmad and Ustad Hamid, who were 'expert *me'mars*'.[1085] We are also told that the Taj Mahal was constructed by the architect of the Delhi Fort Ustad Ahmad

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[1082] *Bayaz-i Khushbui,* Ms. IOL Ethe 2784 (I.O.828); Rotograph copy in the Research Library, Department of History, AMU, *ff.* 108(a) - 111 (a).

[1083] *Bayaz-i Khushbui, f.* 108 (b). Suggestions are made for construction of tombs, minarets and garden-beds. For similar directions as to dimensions for buildings being built at Jaipur in 1720's under the supervision of Vidhyadhar., the architect of Raja Jai Singh, see A.K. Roy, History of the Jaipur City, New Delhi, 1978, pp.41-42, 52.

[1084] Gulbadari, *Humayun Nama* Tashkent, 1959, p.17; See also Abul Fazl, ed. Molvi Abdul Rahim, Calcutta, 1879, Vol. II, p. 247.

[1085] Waris, Badshah Nama, Ms. Raza Library. Rampur (transcript copy in Research Library, Deptt. of History, AMU), vol., I, p. 38.

me'mar and his son claimed that he himself and his brothers were all expert *me'mars*.[1086] Abdur Rahim Khan-i Khanan too had in his service a '*me'mar*' who had no parallel.[1087] These master-masons had under their control a number of ordinary *me'mars* (masons) whose job appears to have been fixing bricks or stones with the help of mortar. They in fact, were the real builders. Their expertise extended to estimating prices of buildings and lands: witness the task assigned officially to Lachhmi *me'mar* at Mathura to estimate the price of a private house early in Aurangzeb's reign.[1088] The *me'mars* importance and affluence can be deduced from their portrayal in Mughal miniatures, where, while directing building work, they are depicted fully clad from head to foot.[1089]

Another category of experts who worked hand in hand with the *me'mar* were the *muhandis* or the mathematicians. They appear to be expert in the art of mathematics and geometry, which they applied to calculate the proportions of the foundations and. heights.[1090] The term *muhandis* was also generally applied for the architects. Lutfullah, the architect had the title 'Muhandis'. He was well-versed in the science of mathematics, which he says, he applied whil e constructing buildings.[1091] In fact he has left behind works on mathematics.[1092] Ataullah Rashidi the brother of Lutfullah Muhandis was a master of mathematics and architecture.[1093] In fact, throughout his *Diwan,* Lutfullah uses the term *muhandis* as a synonym of

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[1086] Lutfullah Muhandis, *Diwan-i Muhandis*, reproduced in Sayyid Sulaiman Nadwi, "The Family of the Engineers who built the Taj Mahal and the Delhi Forts", *The Journal of Bihar Research Society*, Vol. XXXIV, Pts I & II, 1948, pp. 75-110 and M. Abdullah Chaghtai, "A Family of Great Mughal Architects", *Islamic Culture*, Vol. XI, no. 2, April, 1937, 200-209.

[1087] Mulla Abdul .Baqi Nahawandi, *Ma'asir-i Rahimi*, ed. M. Hidayat Husain, Calcutta, Vol. II, pp.610-11.

[1088] *Mathura Documents*, dated 10 Jamadi I, 5th R.Y of Aurangzeb (,Xeroxed)

[1089] See for example *Akbar Nama* paintings depicting the construction of Fathpur Sikri and Agra Fort preserved in Victoria and Albert Museum.

[1090] See for example Lahori, Vol. I., Pt.i, p, 223.

[1091] *Diwan-i Muhandis, op.cit.*

[1092] Some of his books which survive include (i) *Risala-i Khawas-i a'dad*, MS. BM 16744 / 3; (b) *Sharh-i Khulastul Hisab*, MS. Azad Library, AMU, Aligarh (2 copies).

[1093] *Diwan-i Muhandis, op.cit.*

architect.[1094] We are also told that Ustad Ahmad, the architect of Delhi Fort had no parallel as far as his knowledge of mathematics is concerned.[1095] Whether the *muhandis* was also required to draw the plan, our sources are silent.

Next in importance to the *me'mar* was the *sangtarash* (stone-cutter) or the *najjar* (carpenter) depending upon whether the building under construction was of stone or not. While dealing with the positive aspects of Indian society, Shaikh Zain comments on abundance and easy-availability of the *sangtarash*. He says:

> "They are far more numerous and exceed in number than those of any other country... in the royal edifices at Agra 680 stone- cutters who are the natives of the city, have been at work every day in special departments of the governments, and in laying in the foundations of the buildings of Fathpur Sikri, Biana, Dholpur, Gwalior, Kol, and, in carrying out the imperial command, as many as 1491 stone-cutters worked daily. Moreover, every one of the pillars of the government (grandees) who erect buildings of stones, employ a. large number of the stone-cutters in the same way."[1096]

Babur also alludes to the large number of *sangtarash* in India. He also writes that these stone cutters were also sent to other countries.[1097] Abul Fazl in the *a'in-i imarat* mentions two categories of *sangtarash* viz. the *naqqash* who was the tracer or carver and the *sadahkar* or the plain stone-cutter whose only job was to cut and fix stones.[1098] Depictions in the Mughal paintings, point to the comparative superior position of *naqqash* over the *sadahkar*. The *Akbarnama* paintings show the carvers better dressed than the *sadahkar*.[1099] The stone was first handed over to the *sadahkar*

[1094] *Ibid*. In modern Persian also the term *muhandis* stands for an architect.
[1095] Ahmad Ali Sandelvi, Makhazan-ul Gharaib, MS. Shibli Academy, p. 153.
[1096] *Tabaqat-i Baburi, op.cit.*, p. 134.
[1097] *Babur Namah*, ed. A.S. Beveridge, London, 1971, f. 291(b)
[1098] Abul Fazl, *A'in-i Akbari*, Nawal Kishore, Vol.I, n.d. p. 117.
[1099] *Akbar Nama Paintings*, op.cit.

who would cut the stone into the required shape. It was then handed over to the *naqqash* who would trace the required floral or geometrical design before handing it over to the *parchinkar* (engraver) or *mambatkar* (embosser) as per the need. For carving out the more intricate designs, the stone marble was handed over to the *gultarash*.[1100]

After the various categories of the stone- cutters and carvers accomplished their work, these stone pieces were ready to be fixed in the building. We may assume that due to a large number of stones adorned with various floral and geometrical designs, they were also numbered to give them a sequence to the job of the fixer easy.[1101] Quite often the stone cutters themselves had the job of joining the stone-pieces together. Shaikh Zain informs us at the stone cutters so closely and expertly joined the stones in the buildings that 'even the sagacity of the acute and subtle critics fell in state of amazement.' He further states that the stone cutters accomplished this task of joining without using any plastering material or iron.[1102] The title of '*ustad* was also bestowed on such expert *sang tarash*. Thus Babur mentions one Ustad Shah Muhammad who was recruited to construct a building at Dholpur.[1103]

A close study of Mughal monuments suggests a very interesting practice. The stones adorning the plinths, stairs, pavements etc. of the various Monuments at Delhi, Agra and Fathpur Sikri have certain marks carved on them. R.Nath categorises them as the mason's ma.rk.[1104] But they are surely stone-cutters' marks. Whether each mark denoted a family of stone cutters or their respective guilds, we do not know.

[1100] For their separate skills see Lahori, II, p.324; *Ahwal-i Taj Mahal*, Mirza Beg, (MS. Research Library, Deptt. of History, AMU); R. Nath, *The Taj and its Incarnation, op.cit.*, pp. 40-41.

[1101] Even today one can see the practice of numbering the stones at the Dayalbagh Mandir at Agra which is under construction. As per the design, the stones are numbered before being handed over to the mason who has the job fixing them on the brick walls of the temple.

[1102] *Tabaqat-i Baburi, op.cit.*, p. 157.

[1103] *Babur Nama, op.cit., f.* 339(b).

[1104] R. Nath, *The Taj Mahal and Incarnation* , *op.cit.*, p. 44; For the marks of professionals, including the stone cutters see Infra.

Yet another craftsman who was important was the *khushnawis* or the calligrapher who was responsible for designing and executing inscriptions to be fixed on the building. Whether like a modern calligrapher he would execute his art on paper later to be transferred on stone by the *naqqash* and *parchinkar*, we do not know. But from what we know, it seems, he was held in quite a good esteem. It is only his name that time and again we find inscribed along with his work on the building. Thus one of the slabs on the main portal of the Taj gives the name of Amanat Khan, the *khush-navis*.[1105] A large number of inscriptions on the buildings of Akbar's reign have the name of Shaikh Masum Bhakkari carved on them. The examples can be multiplied.

A large number of Mughal structures like mosques, tombs and even gates could not be complete without their domes. Other buildings of public welfare like the *sarais* and *hammams* too had vaulted roofs adorning them. *Gumbad-saz* was the master-craftsman who accomplished this task. The pinnacle or finial placed on top of the dome was constructed by the *kalashsaz*.[1106]

Yet another class of master-craftsmen and artisans was that of *najjar* or *durudgar* (the carpenters).[1107] They had the responsibility of constructing the doors and the windows. Some of the European accounts mention wooden houses.[1108] Even Abul Fazl mentions wooden structures.[1109] In his chapter on buildings, Abul Fazl thus mentions them just after the stone-cutters. According to him, the carpenters were divided into two groups. The first group of *durudgar* appear to be those who shaped

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[1105] See also Latif, *Agra: Historical And Descriptive, op.cit.*, description of the Taj; . R.Nath, *op.cit.* pp. 41-2. Abdul Baqi also mentions quite a few *khushnawis* and *naqqash* (calligraphist) see for example *Ma'asir-i Rahimi*, ed. Hidyat Hossein, 1925, Vol. III, p.1682.

[1106] Unfortunately the terms *gumbadsaz* and *kalashsaz* do not appear in either *A'in* or Lahori. While discussing the construction of dome of Taj, Lahori comments on the expertise of the architects (*muhandis*) involved in the work. Lahori, II, 324. As I have seen, the terms appear in *Ahwal-i Taj Mahal* (*op.cit.*) compiled in 19th century.

[1107] Abul Fazl used the term *durudgar* for them. *A'in*, I, p. 117.

[1108] Pelsaert, *op.cit.*, p. 34; Bernier, *op.cit.*, p.398.

[1109] *A'in*, Vol. I, *op.cit.*, p. 562; For the use of wood in houses an its importance see *Hidayat-ul Qawaid*, *op.cit.*, f. 40(b). For the expert carpenters of Calicut, see Pyrard, *The Voyage of Francois Pyrard of Laval*, tr. ed. Alfert Gray, Vol. I, n.d., London, p. 403.

and chiselled the wood. These he Sub-divides into five categories. The second group, which he calls *sadahkar* or plain job-workers, who probably just shaped the planks etc, are divided into three categories. The man responsible for sawing the logs of wood was called *arah-kash*.[1110] The need for carpenters in making windows would also have been considerably high due to the high cost of glass for the panes.[1111] Abul Fazl thus speaks of *pinjarasaz* who were the lattice and wicker workers who probably decorated the windows etc. with their art.[1112] Whenever glass was used the services of *tabdan tarash* were required.[1113]

The building under construction cannot be completed without the presence of artisans who have the expertise in digging and brick-laying. Thus our Persian sources have innumerable references to *beldars*.[1114] A lofty building being constructed with the use of stone and bricks needed the service of the *beldars* to dig its strong foundations. Then again, the mason busy in his work was in need of help of certain artisans to prepare the bricks and bring them to him. Thus, Abul Fazl divides the *beldars* into two categories. The first were those who helped in the construction, of walls and the second were ordinary diggers.[1115] When the bricks were being cemented with the help of lime mortar, the services of a *gilkar* were required. Presumably the *gilkar* was a kind of mortar- maker.[1116] Another cementing material which was in vogue at that time was prepared with the help of *surkhi* or pounded bricks. This work of pounding the brick and mixing it mortar was performed by *surkhikob* or the

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[1110] *A'in*. Vol.I, *op.cit.*, pp. 117
[1111] Fryer, op.cit., p. 92.
[1112] *A'in*, op.cit., Vol. I, p. 117.
[1113] *Ibid*. p.118
[1114] See for example *Babur Nama, op.cit., f.* 291(b); *Tabaqat-i Baburi, op.cit.*, p.115; Lahori, I, *op.cit.*,p.323 Ali Muhammad Khan, *Mirat-i Ahmadi* ed. Nawab Ali, Baroda, 1928, Vol.1, p. 276; M.A. Naeem, Mughal Documents. *op.cit.*, Vol. I.
[1115] *A'in., op.cit.*, Vol. I, p. 117.
[1116] *Ibid*. Interestingly he is placed the first in the list of artisans employed in the Building establishment.

pounder.[1117] The, tiles which were used in roofing the houses of the middle-income group were prepared by the *khisht-tarash*.[1118] From the Mughal paintings it appears that most of these workers were ill-clad and went about - as in the present age - in a semi-clad condition with only a loin-cloth and cloth-piece used to help in carrying load.

Abul Fazl also mentions a number of artisans who were required in the construction of thatched-houses and huts which were used as dwellings by the common people in the towns and countryside.[1119] They included the *chhappar-band* (thatchers), *bans-tarash* (bamboo-cutters) *patal-band* (reed-binders) and *lakhira* (varnishers of reeds).[1120]

The water needed for the construction work was supplied from the wells (*chah*) which were dug by *chah-kan* (well diggers) and frequently cleaned by yet another set of experts called *ghota-khur*.[1121] A worker was also needed to carry this water to the place where the mortar was being prepared. He was known as the *abkash* (water-carrier).[1122]

A survey of the Mughal Monuments shows that the practice of constructing water tanks and fountains was quite common. The water to these fountains was supplied through under ground water channels and pipes. Our sources are silent as to their builders. In Persia, Afghanistan and other Central Asian countries, the experts who constructed these underground water pipes were known as *mukhanis, chahkhu,*

[1117] *Ibid*

[1118] *Ibid*. p. 118. For the Use of tiles in mercantile houses at Ahmadabad see Jawaid Akhtar, ' Property at Ahmadabad', *op. cit.*

[1119] For thatched huts of common people, see for example, Fr. J. Xavier's Letter, *JASB*, n.s. no. XXIII, 1927, p. 125; Finch, *Early Travels*, p. 185; Tavernier, I, *op.cit.*, pp.122,128. See also Badauni, *op.cit.*, p.398 etc.

[1120] *A'in.*, I, *op.cit.*, pp. 117-8.

[1121] *Ibid*

[1122] Ibid

qumush or qarizkan.[1123] Whether under the Mughals they were known by any of these names, we do not know.

Thus we see that the building establishment under the Mughals generally consisted of around thirty categories of craftsmen each expert in his field, working under the command of a supervisor.

As far as the construction of Imperial buildings was concerned, there appears to have been some sort of a 'contract' system. Gopal Rai Surdaj includes in his work an *istighasa* regarding the construction of two *sarais* between Narwar and Saronj, which mentions an amount set aside for the construction. It was from this amount that the salaries were to be paid and material bought by the supervisor of the constructions.[1124]

Once the supervisor for the construction was chosen and an architect appointed the next step was to draw the plan. The actual work would start with the *beldars* digging the foundations. The masons would then raise the plinth over this foundation and then construct the walls. Mughal paintings abound in depictions of spades, hammers and other instruments which were used for these purposes. Some workers would busy themselves in preparing and mixing the mortar. Others would carry the bricks and the mortar to the masons. For the mortar, barrows carried by two workers, one on each side were utilized. For bricks, baskets were used. It also appears that the bricks needed for the building were and baked quite near the site of the building under the eyes of the Supervisor.[1125] The paintings also depict that the work of each category of worker was supervised by a person with a guiding stick in his

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[1123] See Iskandar Beg, Alam Ara-i Abbasi, Isfahan, 1956, Vol.I. p. 473 also The Encyclopaedia of Islam, (new edition), Vol. IV, Leiden, 1978, s.v. *kanat.*

[1124] *Durrul Ulum, op.cit., ff.* 60(a)-(b); See also *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri* ed. S.Ahmad Khan, Ghazipur, 1863, Vol. II, p. 347 where there is a mention of Jahangir giving Rs. 30, 000 to Haidar Malik to construct a canal. The amount was to be utilized for material and labour.

[1125] *Ibid., f.* 60(b).

hand. Presumably he was an expert. The use of ramp made of wood was also known along with the ladder, wit t help of which the labourers reached the masons.

The embossers and carvers used iron chisels and hammers. Probably the *abkash* used leather bucket (*mashk*) like the *saqqas* (water- carriers).

The practice of repairs of the old buildings was also present, despite Bernier's reference to neglect on this score. Thus we find Jahanger ordering Abdul Karim Mamuri, an architect, to repair 'the buildings of the old kings' at Mandu.[1126] An iron inscription on the gate of the mausoleum of Sultan Hoshang Ghori (d. 838 A.H. / 1434-5 A.D.) at Mandu mentions a host of architects who went there for inspection.[1127] In a very interesting letter to Shahjahan, Prince Aurangzeb mentions the repair works being carried out at the Taj Mahal whose ceiling due to rains had started leaking. He also represents that there was greater need to pay attention to the repairs in order to safe-guard the ground structure.[1128] Dealing with the repair-works going on at the Taj, he writes:

> "The architects (*me'mar*) are of the opinion that if the roof of the second floor is opened up and treated afresh with lime mortar over which half a *gaz* (yard) layer of mortar grout is laid (*tehkari*) then probably the semi-domed portals, galleries and the small domes may be made water tight."[1129]

Aurangzeb then goes on to remark that the architects 'confess to their inability to fully repair the bigger Dome'.

Architects in Mughal India were not confined to constructing houses and monuments. We find that they accompanied the army in expeditions as well, where

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[1126] Lahori, Vol. I, *op.cit.*, pp. 137,182.
[1127] *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1909-10, p. 23 cf. M.A Chaghtai, 'A Family of Great Mughal Architects' *Islamic Culture*, *op.cit.*, p. 200.
[1128] Abul Fath Qabil Khan, *Adab-i Alamgiri*, ed. Abdul Ghafur Chaudhuri, Lahore (Pakistan), 1971, Vol. I, pp. 111-13.
[1129] *Ibid.* Vol. I, p. 112.

they were expected to build bridges, roads and *sabat* (covered way) for the army. Thus Qasim Khan, the architect of Akbar, was an expert in constructing *sabats*. In 1572 when Akbar marched towards Surat, Qasim Khan was asked to proceed ahead in order to construct the *sabat*.[1130] Then again curing the siege of Chittore in 1567 he was deputed for the same purpose.[1131] He was assisted in these endeavours by stone-cutters, smiths and carpenters.[1132] While the emperor was on the move, Qasim Khan was also ordered to bridge the rivers to facilitate the passing of the army.[1133]

At yet another time he would busy himself in constructing and levelling the roads.[1134] Similarly under Jahangir, Abul Wafa, the son of Hakim Abul Fath was ordered to have a bridge constructed at Baba Hasan Abdal.[1135]

As far as the wages and salaries of the persons involved in the construction work is concerned no worthwhile data apart from those in the *A'in* are available as far as the reign of Akbar and Jahangir is concerned. For Shahjahan's reign an idea can be formed from some of the *qabz-ul wusul* documents at the Hyderabad Archives.[1136] Much information in this regard is forthcoming from Rajasthan also for the time of Aurangzeb and after.[1137]

As far as the *mir-i imarat* is concerned our sources do not contain any information as far as his salary is concerned. It is only in the 19th Century works on

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[1130] Abul Fazl, *Akbar Nama,* ed. Molvi Abdur Rahim, Calcutta, 1886-7, Vol. III, p. 17.
[1131] *Ibid*., p. 319.
[1132] *Ibid*. pp. 336-7, 356.
[1133] *Ibid*., p. 559, also p. 177; See also *Adab-i Alamgiri*, op.cit, Vol.I, pp.108-09, 110.
[1134] *Ibid*., pp. 470-1, 537.
[1135] *Tuzuk*, op.cit., I, p. 76.
[1136] See *Mughal Documents: Catalogue of Aurangzeb's Reign*, ed. M.A. Naeem, Vol. I, (1658-63), Hyderabad, 1980.
[1137] *Kamthana Bahis* of Bikaner, see Anjali Chaterjee, "Wage Structure of Artisans and labourers engaged in constructional work in Medieval Rajasthan (A.D. 1670- 1761) — a case study of Bikaner State," *PIHC* 1985, pp. 316—25; *Arhsatta Imarati* (c.1694) *MF*,Research Library, Deptt. of History, AMU.

the construction of Taj Mahal that mention is made of a salary of Rs.1000/- per month.[1138]

The *Darogha-i Imarat* in the first regnal year of Aurangzeb had a salary ranging from Rs.230/- per month to Rs.55 and 12 *annas* per month. It appears that his wages depended upon the importance of the building which was given under his charge.[1139] Some times the *darogha-i imarat* was also given a *mansab*. In fact for the Imperial buildings a *mansabdar* was often appointed as its *darogha*.[1140]

As for the salary of the Chief Architect, again there are no substantial references forthcoming. The *Ahwal-i Taj Mahal* mentions his salary to be Rs.1000/-.[1141] We are informed that Qasim Khan, the architect of Akbar held a *mansab* of 3000.[1142] Lutfullah Muhandis held a rank of 400.[1143]

The mason (*me'mar*) on the other hand, was one of the most highly paid artisans under Shahjahan. From some of the *qabs-ul wusul* documents relating to the early years Of Aurangzeb's reign it appears that the salary of the *me'mar* varied between 26.6 *dams* to 12 *dams* per day.[1144] *Kamthana bahis* from Bikaner give the per day wage as 5.8 *dam* for the local artisan and 25 *dam* per day if they were brought from the Deccan.[1145] In 1694 we find that he was earning 8.88 *dam* per day at

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[1138] For example see Mirza Beg, *Ahwal-i Taj Mahal*, , *op.cit.*, *f.*47
[1139] *Mughal Documents, op.cit.*, Doc. Nos. I /340, I /1002.
[1140] For example see Lahori, I, i, p.474; ii, 2; Vol. II, p. 103, Waris, *op.cit*, II, 173.
[1141] *Ahwal, op.cit.*, *f.* 47-48.
[1142] *Akbar Nama, op.cit.*, Vol.III, p. 87, 702; *A'in, op.cit*, Vol. I, p. 224
[1143] Lutfullah, *Ruqqat*, MS, Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh Muslim University, *f.* 24.
[1144] *Mughal Documents*, op.cit., Doc. no's. III/347, III/358, III/595, III/890, III/976, IV/300, IV/560, IV/794, IV/1091,IV/1195, V/839, V/959, V/1713, V/1922 and V/2051. I have converted the wages quoted in rupees into *dams*.
[1145] *Kamthana Bahis*, *cf.* Anjali Chaterjee, op.cit. I have converted the wages into *dams* for the sake of comparison by making use of S.P. Gupta's rates of *takas* to the rupee(*The Agrarian System of Eastern Rajasthan*, Delhi 1986), and taking one *dam* =1/40 Rupee as at the time of the *A'in*.

Amber.[1146] A mason recruited to repair some structures at Shahjahanabad in 1711 was paid the equivalent of 9.12 *dam* per day.[1147]

According to Abul Fazl, the daily wages of *gilkar* varied from 7 *dam* to 4 *dam*.[1148] In Bikaner he was paid 7.5 *dam* to 5 *dam* per day in the later half of the 16th century.[1149] By 1694 A.D. it equalled that of the *me'mar*, i.e., 8.88 *dam* per day, at Amber.[1150]

As far as the stone-cutters and carvers are concerned, we find that a stone cutter doing plain work was earning 5 *dams* per *gaz* of stone during Akbar's reign.[1151] During Aurangzeb's reign the amount paid to them was 8.88 *dams* for a full day's work.[1152] This might not suggest a decline in wages, for probably as was the case with the majority of skilled workers, the respective expertise and the availability of skilled artisans determined the wages doled out to them. The carvers on the other hand were paid 6 *dams* per *gaz* for their labour under Akbar. Our sources are totally silent with regard to the wages of *parchinkar, mambat-kar* and *gumbad saz*. The only information which we have comes from the unreliable *Ahwal-i Taj Mahal* where they are said to have received Rs.380 to Rs.200 a month their work at Taj.[1153]

The importance of the carpenters and their respective divisions can be seen from the wages ascribed to them in the *A'in*. Abul Fazl mentions their wages as between 7 *dams* and 2 *dams* per day.[1154] In the Deccan between 1658 to 1663 three scales of wages, that is 20 *dams*, 8 *dams* and 7.5 *dams* daily are mentioned.[1155] The

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[1146] *Arhsatta Imarati, op.cit*, A.D. 1694. I am thankful to Dr. Sumbul Haleem Khan for providing the references contained in this particular source which is in Rajasthani.
[1147] *Ibid*
[1148] *A'in., op.cit*, Vol. I, p. 117.
[1149] *Kamthana Bahis, op.cit.*
[1150] *Arhsatha Imarati, op.cit.*, A.D. 1694.
[1151] A'in., op.cit, Vol.I, p. 117.
[1152] *Arhsatta Imarati, op.cit.*, A.D. 1694.
[1153] *Ahwal*, op.cit., pp. 47-8. See also R. Nath, for some other such works mentioned earlier.
[1154] *A'in., op.cit.*, Vol.1, p. 117.
[1155] *Mughal Documents, op.cit.*, doc.no.'s. I/383, I/1010, I/1022, III/380 and III/604.

carpenters of Bikaner, between 1670 and 1757 were paid 15 *dams*, 7.62 *dams* and 2.6 *dams* per day.[1156]

The lattice and wicker workers (*pinjarasaz*) were paid according to the kind of work undertaken. When they fastened the pieces with string in a dodecagonal, they were paid 24 *dams* per *gaz*. When they formed a dozen circles, they got 22 *dams*; for hexagon, 18 *dams*; for *ja'fari*, 16 *dams*; and for the chess-board style, 12 *dams* per *gaz*.[1157] If they joined the sticks by inter-weaving they were paid 48 *dams* to 40 *dams* per *gaz*.[1158]

The wages of the *arrahkash* depended on the quality of the wood which he was sawing. Thus the sawyer of the *sisam* wood was paid 2½ *dam* per *gaz*, and the one working with *nazhu* wood drew a compensation of 2 *dam* per *gaz* of wood. On the saw he was helped by a labourer who was employed on a daily wage of 2 *dams*.[1159]

The brick-layers (were getting 3 ½ *dam* and 3 *dam* respectively for common work. If they were asked to work for the construction of fortress walls with battlements he was paid at the rate of 4 *dams* per *gaz* of work. For all other walls he was given 2 *dams*. If the *beldar* dug foundations he got 2½ *dams* while those *beldars* whose job was to dig ditches were given ½ *dam* per *gaz*.[1160] In 1694 at Amber a *beldar* was paid 0.35 *dam* for digging a trench.[1161]

The well-diggers too were of three kinds with a salary of 2 *dam*, and 1½ *dam* respectively. The cleaners of the well had their wages which depended on the climate.

[1156] *Kamthana Bahi, op.cit.*
[1157] *A'in., op.cit.*, vol. I, p. 117.
[1158] *Ibid.*
[1159] *Ibid.*
[1160] *Ibid.*
[1161] *Arhsatha Imarati, op.cit.*, 1694

Thus during the winter season they got 4 *dams* per day, while in summers they were paid 3 *dams* daily. For the job of cleaning a well they were paid Rs.2/-.[1162]

The brick makers (*khisht-tarash*) earned 8 *dams* for every hundred mounds which they made.[1163] Later in 1694 at Amber we find them drawing a daily wage of 11.13 *dams*.[1164] Whereas the pounder of bricks (*surkhi-kob*) got 1½ *dam* for pounding a heap of 8 *mans* of old bricks.[1165]

Amongst the highest paid skilled artisans were the *tabdan tarash* or glass-cutters who earned 100 *dams* per *gaz* of glass they cut.[1166]

The *bans-tarash* (bamboo-cutter) worked for a daily wage of 2 *dams*. The *chappar-band* got 3 *dam* for a day, but if he worked by the job, he received 24 *dams* per 100 *gaz*. The reed binder (*patal-band*) had a wage of 1 *dam* per 4 *gaz*. The varnisher of reeds (*lakhira*) got 2 *dams* per day under Akbar[1167] and 3.48 *dams* in 1694.[1168] The *ab-kash* or water carrier worked for 3 *dams* and 2 *dams* daily,[1169] whereas in 1694 his salary increased to 6.66 *dam* and 4.42 *dam* respectively.[1170]

A labourer under Akbar, who was supposed to carry a load of stones (*sangbar*) was paid 0.22 *dam* per *man* of load.[1171] The same labourer in 1670 was getting 10 *dam* to 7.5 *dam* daily at Bikaner,[1172] but since the *A'in*'s rate was a piece rate, the two rates are not comparable. In the case of other labourers we get a wage of 5.8 *dam*, 2.6 *dam* and 2.5 *dam*. If they were skilled in their job and were imported from some

[1162] *A'in., op.cit.*, vol. I, p. 117.
[1163] *Ibid*
[1164] *Arhsatha Imarati, op.cit.*, 1694
[1165] *A'in., op.cit.*, I, p. 117.
[1166] *Ibid.*, I, p. 118.
[1167] *Ibid*
[1168] *Arhsatta Imarati, op.cit.*
[1169] *A'in.* I, p. 118.
[1170] *Arhsatta Imarati, op.cit.*
[1171] *A'in.*, I, p. 118.
[1172] *Kamthana Bahis, op.cit.*

distant place they were comparatively better off with a wage of 20 *dams* per day.[1173] As is to be expected the wages of the female labourer were quite low, ranging between 0.12 *dam* and 0.8, *dams* daily.[1174] The wages of the labourers working in the *karkhana* had a high wage of 10 *dams* and 7.5 *dams* daily. The workers at the *hammam* appear to be equally better off with a wage of 7.6 *dams* per day.[1175] The *Chitr-kar* or painter of houses at Bikaner had a handsome daily income of 11.11 *dams*.[1176]

A perusal of these wages and salaries points towards a differentiation within the ranks of the various professionals and artisans, which probably arose out of their acquired skill and expertise. It also appears that under Akbar the highest daily wage awarded to an artisan of the building establishment was 7 *dams* and the lowest 2 *dams*. The piece-wages on the other hand, varied between 100 *dams* to ½ *dam* per *gaz*. During Aurangzeb's reign the daily wages varied from 25 *dams* for imported artisans to 0.8 *dam* for the women labourers.

The wages being those of the Imperial Establishment might have differed from those of the private establishments. In one of his *farmans* Aurangzeb mentions the evil practice of 'forced labour' in Ahmadabad.[1177] Further Ali Muhammad Khan writes that once the *gilkars, beldars, najjars* and other wage-earners of the buildings of Ahmadabad complained to the Emperor regarding their meagre salary from the state, on which the emperor issued orders to bring about parity in wages between

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[1173] *Ibid*
[1174] *Ibid*
[1175] *Ibid.*
[1176] *Arhsatta Imarati, op.cit.*
[1177] Ali,Muhammad Khan, *Mirat-i Ahmadi*, S. Nawab Ali, Calcutta, 1928, Vol. I, p. 260.

these workers and those 'working at other buildings of the city.'[1178] Thus it appears that the wages current on the private level would have been comparatively high.[1179]

The real import of these wages can be gauged if only we compare them with the prices of the food grains. Thus we see that 4.44 *seers* equal to 6.13 lb. *avdp.* of wheat could be bought for 2 *dams* under Akbar the average price of barley, gram, *jowar* and bajra was 12.64 *dams*. According to Shireen Moosvi, an unskilled worker in 1595 thus could have food in much greater quantity than in the latter half of the ninteenth century.[1180] She says that a wage-earner of 2 *dams* per day could save 10 per cent of his annual income.

In 1694 at Amber one rupee could buy one *man* wheat or *moth* or 1¼ *man* of grain or barley. For 1½ rupees one *man* of *Bajra* or *Jowar* could be bought; whereas *urad* (pulse) was priced at Rs.2.25 per *man*.[1181]

Thus it appears that the seemingly low wages of the artisans were high enough to fill the stomach and cater to their basic needs.

For the construction of the common man's house, on the other hand, the services of all these skilled artisans appear to have been unnecessary. A mason and a few labourers would have sufficed for their constructional need.

As far as the profession of the architects is concerned, it appears that like other professions, it was also largely hereditary in nature.[1182]

Th profession of construction was not confined to any one religion, though as can well be assumed, the artisans were mostly Hindus. Banarsi Das, writing during

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[1178] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 276.
[1179] See also Moreland, 'The Prices and Wages under Akbar', *JRAS*, 1917, pp. 815-25.
[1180] Shireen Moosvi, *The Economy of the Mughal Empire c. 1595: A Statistical Survey*, Delhi, 1987, pp. 336, 344.
[1181] S.P. Gupta, op.cit., pp. 76-82.
[1182] See for example the family of Lutfullah, *Diwan-i Muhandis*, op.cit.

Jahangir's reign comments that masons, carpenters etc. were to be classed as Shudras.[1183]

The information on building workers is yet too incomplete to sustain any elegant analysis. Yet a dimly outlined picture emerges of rigorous specialisation among the workers and, above them, a class of *me'mars* who appear to have been architects, suparvisors and even masons, all rolled into one. Perhaps, as more evidence is looked for, this class could well obtain a personality o its own and claim the authorship of much that was great in Mughal architecture.

[1183] Banarsi Das, *Ardhakathanaka*, ed. Makund Lath, Jaipur, 1981, p.226.

Chapter VI

Painters, Artists and Musicians

[VI] Painters, Artists and Musicians

Much impetus was provided to the performing arts under the Mughals. It was during the reign of Akbar that two important fields – painting and music – were given a new meaning and import. It is important to note that although there were a number of master craftsmen and professionals in the Mughal *karkhanas*, it is only the painters, musicians and calligraphers who are mentioned by name. The painters not only signed their work but would also include their self-portraits in some of their compositions. These professions thus appear to have enjoyed a high status in the Mughal society.

Although nothing is known about the presence or absence of painters under Babur, it was during the reign of Humayun that attention started being paid to recruiting accomplished painters to the Mughal Court.[1184] From the account of Jauhar Aftabchi it is evident that the imperial atelier existed even during the reign of Humayun when he was wandering in the wilderness:

> Soon after the Rana had retired, the king [Humayun] undressed and ordered his clothes to be washed, and in the meanwhile he wore his dressing gown; while thus sitting, a beautiful bird flew into the tent, the doors of which were immediately closed, and the bird caught; his Majesty then took a pair of scissors and cut some of the feathers of the animal, he then sent for a painter, and had taken a picture of the bird, and afterwards ordered it to be released.[1185]

For his reign we get the names of six painters. During Akbar's reign, the number rose steeply to about 260,[1186] of whom 56 % were Hindus (See Table I below). In the subsequent reigns, the total number of the members of this class

[1184] Bayazid Bayat, Bayazid Bayat, *Tazkira-i Humayun wa Akbar*, ed. Hidayat Hosain, Bib. Ind., Calcutta, 1941, pp. 67 – 69, 176 - 87

[1185] Jauhar Aftabchi, *Tazkiratul Waqi'at*, tr. Charles Stewart, 1832, p.43

[1186] See SP Verma, *Mughal Painters and their work A Biograhpical Survey and Comprehensive Catalogue,*Delhi, 1994, p. 24.

recruited by the Mughal state kept on declining. This in no way would mean a decline in the members of this professional group in the Mughal Society. However the percentage of the Hindu painters declined only marginally.

Table I

Reign	Total Painters	Total Hindus	Percentage of Hindus	Total Muslims	Percentage Of Muslim
Humayun	6	-	-	6	100%
Akbar	260	145	55.7%	115	44.2%
Jahangir	84	43	51.0%	41	48.8%
Shahjahan	35	17	48.6%	18	51.4%
Aurangzeb	12	8	66%	4	33.3%

From the 400 or so names of the painters serving the Imperial atelier[1187] from the reign of Humayun onwards, it appears to have been quite cosmopolitan in its composition. As is apparent from Table I and II, the selection and appointment to the atelier was not confined to only one religion or ethnic group. The selections were based more on their professional ability.

It is pertinent to note that most of the painters who were recruited to the Imperial atelier by Akbar when he commissioned his first major project, the illustration of *Hamzanama*, were Indian in origin. Praising their professional skill Abul Fazl in fact mentions:

[1187] SP Verma, *Mughal Painters and their work,* op.cit.,

...their pictures surpass our conception of things. Few indeed in the whole world are found equal to them. [1188]

It appears that till the reign of Shahjahan, the Imperial atelier had only a few having a Central Asian or Persian origin.Of the known foreigners in the Mughal atelier only eight painters are mention in our sources or their works along with their places of origin. (See Table II)

Table II

Place of Origin	**Total Number**	**Humayun**	**Akbar**	**Jahangir**	**Shahjahan**
Herat	**3**	-	-	2	1
Shiraz	**1**	1	1	-	-
Tabrez	**1**	-	1	-	-
Central Asia / Samarqand	**2**	-	1	1	1
Kabul	**1**	-	1		--
Abbysinia	**1**	-	1	-	-
Gujarat	**12**	-	12	-	-
Kashmir	**12**	-	11	2	-
Gwalior	**1**	-	1	-	-

Thus we hear of Aqa Riza Herati who joined service of Prince Salim. His son Abul Hasan, like his father served Jahangir. Another of his sons, Muhammad Abid served the Mughal atelier under Shahjahan. Abdus Samad of Shiraz, Mir Saiyid Ali of Tabrez, Farrukh Qalmaq, Muhammad Nadir of Samarqand and a painter identified

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[1188] Abul Fazl, *Ain-i Akbari*, .H.Blochmann, Calcutta, 1872, vol.I, p.117

only as Habshi (Abbysinian) were some of the other non-Indian painters serving the Mughal court.

Among the Indians a sizeable chunk of Painters appear to have hailed from Gujarat and Kashmir. The suffix Gujarati has been used along with the names of Bhim, Surdas, Shankar, Sheodas, Kesav, Madhav, , Sheoraj, Suraj and Surya.The suffix Jiv along with Devjiv, Surjiv, Premjiv also point towards Gujarati origins. Similarly the names Ahmad, Dilram Pandit, Ibrahim, Kamal, Muhammad, Muhammad Pandit, Salih, Yaqub, Haider, Ismail, and Ahmad Naqqash have the suffix Kaskmiri added to their names. Similarly Nand is mentioned as Gwaliyari. But then these suffixes could also be to differentiate these individuals from the general group of painters who probably hailed from North and the areas around Agra, Delhi and Rajasthan. One should remember that the total names mentioned of the painters serving the Mughal atelier is around 400.

A sizeable number of this group of professional painters earned their livelihood in the private ateliers established by the by the Mughal nobles. These painters would attract clients to their place of work to have their portraits drawn. Thus a miniature preserved in State Library, Berlin, which dates to the reign of Akbar, depicts two anonymous painters at work and an old man of high birth walking away after being provided with his portrait made by these painters.[1189]

The social origin of the painters in Imperial and noble men's service, like their ethnic and geographic origins, was quite varied. Caste appears to have been no bar for recruitment to the state service, at least in this profession. Thus we find Bahbud and Maulana Mushfiq who were recruited during the reign of Akbar. They were slaves by origin. Bahbud was basically a slave of Mir Baqir, a calligraphist, before becoming a

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[1189] "Artists at Work", Berlin Album, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, cf. SC Welch, *India: Art and Culture,* Ahmadabad, 1988, pl. 105. See also Ch.IX infra.

personal slave (*khasa khail*) of Abdur Rahim Khan-i Khanan. He remained in the service of the Khan-i Khanan and was un paralleled in his art.[1190] Mushfiq on the other hand, was born as a slave in the household of Khan-i Khanan, and served in the said noble's *kitabkhana* and passed a comfortable life.[1191]

There are 12 other painters who are distinguished by the suffix *chela*, which probably signifies a slave origin. The term *chela* however could also mean an apprentice. However a perusal of the works of these painters belies this assumption. In all likelihood they were all slaves who had been recruited to the Mughal atelier.

Quite significantly we also hear of four painters, one Muslim and three Hindu, who were *kahhārs* (palanquin bearers), a caste quite low in social hierarchy. It is only regarding one, Daswant, that we get some details in our sources. The way Abul Fazl mentions the induction of Daswant in the Imperial service shows the cosmopolitan character and the professional approach of the Mughals towards the management of the Imperial Atelier:

> He [Daswant] is the son of a palanquin-bearer. He devoted his whole life to the art, and used, from love of his profession, to draw and paint figures even on walls. One day the eye of His Majesty fell on him; his talent was discovered, and he himself handed him over to the Khwaja ['Abdus Samad]. In a short time he surpassed all painters, and became the first master of the age...[1192]

The other three palanquin bearers were Ibrahim, Kesav and Para, all during the reign of Akbar. A stone-cutter (*sangtarāsh*) is also found as a member of Akbar's atelier.

[1190] Abdul Baqi Nahawandi, *Ma'asir –i Rahimi*, ed. Hidayat Hasain, Bib.Ind., Calcutta, 1910-13, III, p.1681-82.
[1191] Ibid., III, 1682
[1192] Abul Fazl, *Ain-i Akbari*, op.cit., i, 117; see also Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*, ed. Ahmad Ali and Abdur Rahim, Bib.Ind., Calcutta, 1873-87, III, p. 434.

On the other side of the social spectrum, one finds painters like Abdus Samad *Shirīn Qalam*, his son Muhammad Sharif, Aqa Riza and Abul Hasan amongst others.

Khwaja Abdus Samad, a native of Shiraz joined the Mughal service during the reign of Humayun[1193] and attained high position under Akbar.[1194] During the reign of Akbar he attained a *mansab* of 400 *zat*[1195] and given a number of administrative responsibilities. Thus in the 22nd Regnal Year (that is 1578) he was appointed as the *darogha-i dār uz zarb* (Superintendant of the mint) at Fathpur Sikri.[1196] In 1583 he was given the charge of 'leather articles' due to his honest dealings.[1197] The very next year, that is 28th Regnal Year, when the charge of the Imperial household was given to Murad, Abdus Samad was appointed as one of his deputies.[1198] His son Muhammad Sharif, a painter in the Imperial atelier under Akbar and Jahangir, rose to the position of a very high *mansabdar* and was given the title of *Amirul Umara.*[1199] In Akbar's reign he enjoyed the rank of 200 *zat*[1200] which was enhanced by Jahangir soon after his accession to 5000 / 5000. He was also awarded the title of *Amir ul Umara.*[1201] During this reign he was not only enjoying a high position in the court but was also sent to command an army to the Deccan.[1202]

Aqa Riza of Herat, who joined the atelier of Prince Salim when the prince was at Allahabad was another such painter enjoying imperial offices. According to an inscription, apart from his painting assignments, Aqa Riza *Musawwir* was also appointed as the *darogha-i imarat* (superintendent of construction) of the mausoleum

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[1193] Bayazid Bayat, *Tazkira-i Humayun wa Akbarop.cit*, pp. 67-69, 177; *Akbarnama*, op.cit., I, p.220; Shahnawaz Khan, *Ma'āsir ul 'Umara*, ed. Abdur Rahim and Ashraf Ali, Bib. Ind., Calcutta, 1888-91, II, p.625

[1194] For a detailed biographical note see S.P.Verma, *Mughal Painters and their Work*, op.cit., pp.40-44.

[1195] Abu'l Fazl, *Ain-i Akbari*, op.cit, I, 228

[1196] *Akbarnama*, op.cit., III, p.227

[1197] *Ibid.*, III, p. 396

[1198] Ibid. III, p.404

[1199] *Ma'asir ul Umara*, op.cit., II, pp.626-29.

[1200] *Ain-i Akbari*, op.cit., I, p. 230

[1201] Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri*, ed. Saiyid Ahmad, Ghazipur & Aligarh, 1863-64, p.6.

[1202] Ibid., p.112.

complex of Khuldabad (Khusraubagh, Allahabad).[1203] His son Abul Hasan, according to Jahangir, far excelled his father and was awarded the title of *Nādir ul 'asr* (unique of the age).[1204]

Generally, the painters who were recruited by the Mughal state were paid regular monthly salaries. What was the actual amount of salary given to the painters recruited in the Mughal service, we do not know. However, according to Abul Fazl:

> The work of all painters is weekly laid before His Majesty by the *Daroghas* and the clerks; he then confers rewards according to excellence of workmanship, or increases the monthly salaries.[1205]

The pay of an ordinary painter in the imperial service probably equalled that of an *ahadi* (an independent cavalry man) or a foot soldier. Abul Fazl in fact is quite explicit when he says that:

> ...many *mansabdars, ahadis,* and other soldiers hold appointments in this department (atelier). The pay of foot soldiers varies from 1200 to 600 dams.[1206]

Thus if the lower staff of the atelier, the apprentice, the pagers, line-drawers, *hashiya* (margin) decorators, etc were drawing a salary of 1200 to 600 *dams* (Rs.30/- to Rs.15/- per month, the master painters would have had a respectable income which could further rise depending on their quality of work.

An idea of the rewards which came the way of these court painters can be had from the reign of Jahangir. For example, Bishandas was awarded an elephant for the portrait of the Persian ruler which he had drawn and presented to Jahangir on his

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[1203] M. Abdullah Chaghtai, "Aqa Riza, Ali Riza, Riza-i Abbasi" *Islamic Culture*, 1938, no.12, pp. 437-38.
[1204] *Tuzuk*, op.cit., p. 235.
[1205] Ibid.,I, p. 116
[1206] *Ain-i Akbari*,op.cit., i, p.117

return from Persia.[1207] But the most telling example of the painters being awarded for good work is provided by Thomas Roe. He writes:

> ...but saith he [Jahangir], what will you give the Painter? I answered, seeing he had so farre excelled in my opinion of him, I would double my liberality, and that if he came to my house, I would give him one hundred Rupies to buy a Nagge, which the Kinge took kindly, but answered, he should accept no money, but some other gift; which I promised: the King asked what? I said it was referable to my discretion: so he answered it was true, yet desired I would name it. I replyed, a good Sword, a Pistall, a Picture; whereat the King answered, You confesse hee is a good work-man: send for him home, and shew him such toyes as you have, and let him choose one in requital whereof you shall choose any of these Copies to shew in England.[1208]

However we do not know whether these painters and artists were penalised or dismissed for jobs done badly.[1209] We get an interesting example of Madhav who served the imperial atelier as a leading painter under Akbar.[1210] During the reign of Jahangir, he finds mention as a painter serving the atelier of Abdur Rahim Khan-i Khanan. Was he dismissed from imperial service? The author of *Ma'asir – Rahimi*, refers to him as if he was a painter of a high order:

> Madhav the *naqqash* (painter) is a Hindu. Verily, in portraiture, drawing, painting and ornamental work (*tarrahi*) he is the Mānī (Manichaeus) and Bihzad of his age. He has painted many (in) many of the books of this

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[1207] Ibid., p. 275

[1208] Sir Thomas Roe, *The Journal of Sir Thomas Roe*, ed. T.Wheeler, New Delhi, reprint, 1993, pp.38-39

[1209] For an assertion to this fact, see Norah M.Titley, *Persian Miniature Painting*, The British Library, London, 1983, p.193 wherein he cites the case of Ibrahim Lahori and argues that this painter after making two substandard *Darabnama* miniatures is not subsequently heard of as probably he was dismissed by Akbar who himself was 'a pupil of both Mir Sayyid Ali and Abd al-Samad'.

[1210] *Ain i Akbari*, op.cit.,i, p.117

establishment (Khan-i Khanan's library and atelier) the scenes of noble assemblies and unique portraits. He is in (the Khana-i Khanan's) employ in this library, and is favoured with a (cash) allowance and *jagir*. He renders service in the best manner...[1211]

These salaried state painters, apart from illustrating books commissioned by their benefactors, were also required to be present in private gatherings to record the events visually for posterity.[1212] The importance of this class can be gauged from the fact that they were sometimes ordered by the Emperor to include their self-portraits on the colophon.[1213] Sometimes, the painters could also be allowed to enter the *haram.*[1214] The art of painting was not an exclusive male profession. Nadira Banu, Sahifa Banu and Ruqaiya Banu are known to have painted during the reigns of Akbar and Jahangir. Accordingly, a folio from *Khamsa-i Nizami* depicts a woman painter busy making a self portrait.[1215]

It is interesting to note that although the percentage of Hindu painters fell from 56% under Akbar to 51% under Jahangir, the number of portraits of Hindu nobles rose to 6 out of 9 from 2 out of 11 paintings. In the reign of Shahjahan the strength of the Hindu painters was about half (48.6%). Yet all the four painters depicted were Hindus.[1216] No portrait of a Muslim painter from the reign of Shajahan survives or been so identified.

[1211] *Ma'asir-i Rahimi*, op.cit., III, 1682

[1212] "Zafar Khan with poets and scholars while artist takes their likeness", *Masnawi* of Zafar khan, Royal Asiatic Society, London, MS. Pers. 310 (dted. AD 1662 – 63), *ff.* 19 (b) & 20 (a), cf. Amina Okada, *op.cit.*, pl.194.

[1213] See inscription on the miniature, "Daulat Painting the portrait of the Calligraphist Abdur Rahim *Ambarin Qalam*", *Khamsa-i Nizami*, Dyson-Perrins Collection, Malvern, BM. Or. 12208, *f.* 325 (b), cf. Amina Okada, *op.cit.*, pl. 2; See also "Manohar & Muhammad Husain Kashmiri", *Gulistan-i Sa'di*, Royal Asiatic Society, London, No. 258, *f.* 128, cf. Amina Okada, *op.cit.*, pl. 155.

[1214] "A Princess examines a Portrait", (Akbari), Bodlein Library, Pers. 61, *f.* 23 (b) cf. Ivan Stchoukine, *A L'Epoque des Moghols*, op.cit., pl. VII

[1215] "The Lady Paints a Self-Portrait while her attendant faces her holding the Mirror", (Akbari), *Khamsa-i Nizami*, BM. Or. 12208, *f.* 206 (a), cf. AJ Qaisar, *The Indian Response*, op.cit., pl. 7 (a).

[1216] See Table IV in Chapter IX, infra.

As we shall see in Chapter IX, there was not much marked difference between the dress of the Hindu and Muslim painters. Almost all of them wore *dastars*, long *jamas,* full trousers, a *patka*, which could be single or embroidered, and a shawl. It is only in the case of one painter that the dress is irregular. He is shown wearing a *dhoti* and a shawl draping his naked shoulders and torso.[1217] He was, we are informed, a *kahar* by birth.

These Mughal painters were recruited not just to illustrate the books and paint the court scenes and important occasions, but would also execute wall paintings. A large number of Akbari and Jahangiri wall paintings survive on the walls of Fathpur Sikri, Aram Bagh (Agra), and the Lahore Fort. At least two Mughal painters, Abdus Samad[1218] and Daswant[1219] were accomplished in painting on the walls. A miniature preserved in Clive Album records this fact for us.[1220] By the latter half of the 17th Century, the *bazar* painters who were self-employed, and sold their art in the market, begin to be noticed.[1221] Sir Thomas Roe is quite explicit when he records one of his conversations with Jahangir and says:

> I showed him a Picture I had of his Majesties, farre inferior to the worke I Now saw [of the Imperial atelier], which caused me to judge of all other by that which he delivered me as the best. He asked me where I had it; I told him. *Why, said he, doe you buy such things*? Have I not the best?[1222]

[1217] "Akbar, a noble and the Painter himself", signed Kesavdas, *Jahangir's Album*, State Library,. Berlin, *f.* 25 (a), cf. SP Verma, *Mughal Painters*, op.cit., pl. xxxv.
[1218] Farid Bhakkari, *Zakhirat ul Khawanin*, ed. Moinul Haq, Karachi, 1961, vol.I, p.87; Shahnawaz Khan, *Ma'asir-ul Umara*, ed. Abdur Rahim & Ashraf Ali, Calcutta, 1891, vol.II, 628; Abu'l Fazl, *Ain-i Akbari*, op.cit.,i, p. 117.
[1219] Abu'l Fazl, *Ain-i Akbari*, op.cit.,i, p. 117.
[1220] "Mughal Painter executing a wall painting", *Clive Album,* V & A, IS-48-1956, cf. AJ Qaisar, *Building Construction,* op.cit., pl. 9.
[1221] Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, ed. S. Sen, New Delhi, 1949, pp. 55, 65; Bernier, *Travels in the Mughal Empire, 1656 – 58,* tr. A. Constable & Smith, London, 1968, pp. 254 – 55.
[1222] Sir Thomas Roe, op.cit, p.39

Similar information is provided by Bernier who refers to the 'artists' of the *bazaar*:

> When an *Omrah* or *Mansabdar* requires the services of an artisan, he sends to the *bazar* for him, employing force, if necessary, to make the poor man work...[1223]

At another place, referring to the *bazars* of Agra and Delhi, Bernier further elaborates:

> One may see a great many Pictures in the *Indies* upon Paper and Past-board, but generally they are dull pieces, and none are esteemed but those of *Agra* and *Dehli*....[1224]

The Mughal painter was helped in his endeavour by paper makers, scribes, and a number of apprentices.[1225] It is interesting to note that among a host of such professionals, it is only the painters, calligraphers, poets and some musicians who are mentioned by name. This point to the relatively high status enjoyed by these groups in the Mughal society. Irrespective of their origins, the painters in the Mughal society could reach a high status of an administrator and a person worthy to be included in the official miniatures. They find place in the company of the kings, his entourage and assemblies. Thus in two separate miniatures we find Mirar and Payag standing not far from the emperor who sits in his *diwan-i am*, holding an assembly.[1226] In yet another remarkable painting, the court painter Nanha is depicted sitting while Prince Khurram

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[1223] Bernier, *op.cit.*, p.256
[1224] Ibid, p.55
[1225] "Akbar's Atelier", *Akhlaq-i Nasiri*, MS. 39, *f.* 19 (a), Prince Sadruddin Agha Khan Collection, Rietzberg Museum, Zurich, cf. Brand & Lowry, *Akbar's India*, op.cit., pl. 19
[1226] See for example, *Padshahnama*, MS. Royal Library, Windsor Castle, no. 773, ff. 48 b & 195 a.

receives the submission of Rana Amar Singh of Mewar.[1227] The fact that he sits in the presence of a prince shows the status he enjoyed at the court.

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As has already been pointed out, musicians, like painters, were also an integral part of the Mughal court and society, and were amongst the few who have been mentioned by the court historians by name. About the musicians themselves, with the exception of Tansen and Baz Bahadur, even less is known about them than about the painters of the imperial atelier working similarly in the fort, about whom as we have seen, not a whole lot is known either, Apart from the place of origin of the most prominent musicians and their musical instruments, little else is known. Abu'l Fazl lists the name of thirty six of the 'numerous of those who make music (*khuniyagarān*) and were experts (*nādira-kārān*) from amongst Hindus, Iranis, Turanis, Kashmiris, both men and women.'[1228]

Musicians had been a part of the Mughal courts even prior to Akbar. Discussing the court of Sultan Husain Mirza, Babur first describes the scholars, poets, artists (calligraphers, painters, then musicians, followed by wrestlers.[1229] Abu'l Fazl too tries to follow the same scheme: men of arms, scholars, poets, artists (painters, musicians). In the third section he first deals with *sur* followed by *sangeet* and ultimately *naghma sarayān* followed by wrestlers.[1230]

[1227] 'Rana Amar Singh submits to Khurram' *Jahangirnama*, MS. IS. 185-1984, V&A Museum, London, cf. Susan Stronge, *Painting for the Mughal Emperor: The Art of Book 1560-1660*, Victoria & Albert pubn., London, 2002
[1228] *Ain*, op.cit., i, p. 183
[1229] *Baburnama*, ed. A.S. Beveridge, London, 1971, I, pp.291-92
[1230] *Ain*, op.cit, iii, pp.98-113

Like the painters, these singers (*goyinda*) and musicians who played various instruments, were men derived from varied backgrounds.[1231] It is interesting to note that only 33 % of these court musicians were of foreign origin (see Table III).

Table III

	Indian	Foreigners	Hindus	Muslims
Total	24	12	11	25
Percentage	66.7	33.3	30.6	69.4

It is interesting to note that amongst the indigenous musicians and singers, a sizeable number (i.e. 14 or 58.33 %) were from Gwalior. The musicians from Gwalior were both Hindu and Muslim. Thus we find Miyan Tansen (a Hindu, and according to Abul Fazl, a 'singer like whom had not been in India for the last one thousand years') mentioned along with Subhan Khan and Shihab Khan who were all from Gwalior. Where apart from Kashmir, a place specifically mentioned by Abul Fazl, the other indigenous musicians of Akbar's court belonged to, we are not told. One only finds the mention of Rangsen who hailed from Agra. Baz Bahadur, a singer without rival, had been the ruler of Malwa.

A majority of the foreign musicians and singers (66.67 %), in the court of Akbar, hailed from Persia, while only 33.33 % came from Central Asia. Thus we find the mention of Usta Dost, Mir Saiyid Ali, and Sultan Hashim, all from Mashhad; as well as Qasim Kohbar and Tash Beg Qipchaq both Central Asians, amongst the others in the list provided by Abul Fazl.

[1231] *Ain*, op.cit., i, p. 183

Surprisingly Abul Fazl does not mention Naik Bakhshu (Baiju) as a court musician, who was as famous as Miyan Tansen. He mentions Naik Bakhshu only as 'the most distinguished musician of his day' who was in the service of Man Singh Tonwar, the ruler of Gwalior.[1232] Asad Beg Qazwini, on the other hand mentions Baiju as *kalawant-i badshahi.*[1233]

Nayak Bakhshu, originally of the Gwalior court appears to have migrated to Kalinjar, where Sultan Bahadur the Gujarati ruler is said to have found him. Abul Fazl in his *Ain* narrates:

> It is said that Raja Kirat Singh, the governor of the fort possessed six precios treasures, a learned Brahman of saintly life, a youth of great beauty and amiable disposition, a parrot that answers any questions put to it and some say, remembered everything that it heard, *a musician named Bakhshu unequalled in the knowledge and practice of his art,* and two handmaidens lovely to behold and skilled in song. Sultan Bahadur Gujarati having formed a friendship with the Raja asked him for one of these. *The Rajah generously with a provident wisdom sent him Bakshu.*[1234]

Nayak Bakhshu is credited to have been the creator of *dhrupad*, which was further developed and refined by Miyan Tansen Gwaliari, who adorned the court of Akbar.[1235] According to Faqirullah who compiled a treatise on music and musicians during the reign of Aurangzeb, the invention of *dhrupad* was brought about by Raja

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[1232] *Ain*, op.cit., iii, p. 108

[1233] Asad Beg, Waqa'i Asad Beg, MS. Or. 1996, Oriental and India Office Collection, London, Rotograph, Deptt. Of History Library, f.24a

[1234] *Ain-i Akbari*, II, 170-71; see also Lahori, op.cit.,II, pp.5-7

[1235] Faqirullah Nawab Saif Khan, *Tarjuma-i Manakutuhala wa Risala-i Ragdarpan*, ed.Shahab Sarmadi, INCA,New Delhi,1996, p.11; LalKhan Kalawant, *Majmu 'al-Afkar, ed.* Iqtidar Husain Siddiqui, pp.17-21.

Man Gwaliyari with the coordination of Nayak Bakhshu, and Nayak Bhinnu.[1236] At another place Faqirullah mentions that:

> Nayaka Bakhshu, God's overwhelming mercy be upon him, has three definitely important innovations to his credit: He mixed *Todi* with *Deskara* and named it as *Bahaduri (Todi)* after Sultan Bahadur Gujrati. Besides this, he created *kanhra* by letting *syama* and *khambayachi* mingle with each other. Another novel creation of his has been a *kalyana* based on *hamir, kalyana* and *jayanti-kalyana*. This *kalyana*, like *kanhra* is directly associated with him and called *nayaki-kalyana*.In succession to him comes Miyan Tansen....[1237]

While nothing is mentioned in the written sources on their salaries, occasional mention is made in the written sources of gifts and prizes for individual musicians, which revealingly only those who performed for entertainment are mentioned specifically as receiving from the emperor. Tansen upon his arrival at Akbar's court in 1562 received two hundred thousand rupees, and during the same reign, Badauni writes of an impromptu singing competition at court where the winner was awarded with 1,000 rupees.[1238] Jahangir in his memoirs mentions honouring a flutist, Ustad Muhammad by giving him his weight in rupees.[1239]

Although not much information is forthcoming on the musicians and singers, a reading of Abul Fazl's *Ain-i Akbari* how ever hints at some hierarchical status of the this professional class. Firstly there were some who were simply 'singers', probably those specialized in their voice modulation to effect melody. They were the *goyinda*, the *Khwānandgān* and the *dhār ī*. Thus according to Abul Fazl, the *goyinda* included

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[1236] Faqirullah, p.97

[1237] *Ibid*.p.67

[1238] Badauni, *Muntakhab*, Vol. II, p. 273

[1239] Wade, *Music in India*, p. 108

Tansen, his son Tantarang Khan, Baba Ramdas Gwaliyari, Subhan Khan Gwaliyari, his brother Bichitr Khan, Sri Gyan Khan Gwaliyari, Miyan Chand (or is it Junaid?), Sarod Khan Gwaliyari, Miyan La'l Gwaliyari, Nanak Jarju Gwaliyari, Surdas, Chand Khan Gwaliyari, Rangsen and Rahmatullah. Prirzada was both a *goyinda* and *khwānda* (chanter).[1240]

Amongst the Indians, the chanters of the ancient hymns were the *Vaikars* and their teachers were the *Sahkārs*. Among the vocalists, the most numerous were the *Kalāwants*, the singers of *Dhurpad.* The second category of vocalists was the *dhār īs*, who according to Abul Fazl were the Punjabi singers who chanted the odes to heroes on the battlefield. The *Qawwāls* belonged to this class (*giroh*). They in turn were generally either in Delhi or Jaunpur style (*tarz*).[1241] *Hurkiya*, were both men and women who also sang *dhrupad* and chanted *karkha.*[1242]

Then there were the *khuniyagarān*, the players of various musical instruments. The *Ain* further reveals something about the status of different musicians and their instruments which Abul Fazl includes and excludes from his list of musicians in the court. It appears that there was a difference in the status between those musicians who comprised the ensemble of *naqqarkhana* and played outdoors[1243], and those who played music for entertainment inside the court such as Tansen, Baba Ramdas and Baz Bahadur and others.[1244] When Abul Fazl discusses the *naqqārkhana*, he mentions only the name of the instruments and the tunes to be played. Among the prominent musical instruments to be played at the *naqqarkhana* mention is made of *surna, nafir, kuwargah* and the *naqqārah*; while amongst the tunes we find the mention of *mursali, badshahi, ikhlāti, ibtidā'ī, shirazi, qalandari*

[1240] *Ibid*
[1241] *Ain*, iii, p.111
[1242] Ibid.
[1243] *Ain*, i, pp.52-53
[1244] *Ain*, i, p. 183

amongst others. It appears as if these tunes and instruments are more important than those who play them. Even in their depiction, these musicians are never individualised but just clustered together in the corner where they produce music.

This difference is explicitly brought out in two miniatures from the *Padshahnama* of Shah Jahan's reign. Both are of Dara Shikoh's wedding procession which depicts both groups of musicians. Musicians who performed for entertainment within the court, with their string and percussion instruments, seem to have pride of place at the head of the procession atop horse-drawn carriages, flanked by a few musicians of the *naqqarkhana*, while the bulk of the *naqqarkhana* follow at the rear of the procession. [1245]

Amongst those musicians who played for entertainment, there appears to have been a further division in status. Despite the frequent depictions of the Persian *daf* (a one-sided drum in the shape of the western tambourine, and sometimes with metal discs on the side as well) which based on the miniatures appears to have been the main percussion instrument of the music of entertainment throughout the period, it does not rate a mention in Abu 1-Fazl's list. This omission of *daf* players by Abu 1-Fazl was probably because it was not a solo instrument but the percussion accompaniment to other instruments, in particular string instruments, which, with vocals dominate the list.

The instruments mentioned by Abul Fazl which were played by the musicians mentioned by him are stinged instruments like *surmandal, bīn, ghichak, qubuz,* and *rubāb*. Also mentioned are instruments like *qānūn, surna* and *tambour*.[1246] Thus Bir Mandal Khan Gwaliyari was a *surmandal nawāz* (player of *surmandal*), Shihab Khan

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[1245] See 'The Delivery of Presents for Dara Shukoh's wedding', f 120 B and 121 A cf. Milo Cleveland Beach and Ebba Koch, *King of the World: The Padshahnama*, London, 1997.
[1246] *Ain*, i, p. 183; for other musical instruments mentioned by Abul Fazl see *Ain*, op.cit., iii, 105-111 where divides Indian musical instruments into four kinds..

and his son Purbin Khan were *bīn nawaz*, Usta Dost Mashhadi was a *nai* (player of flute), Mir Saiyid Ali and Shaikh Dawan Dhari was a *ghichaki* while Tash Beg Qipchak was a *qubuzi,* and Mir Abdullah played a *qanun* (zither) while Usta Yusuf Harvi aqnd Usta Muhammad Husain played *tanbura*.

As in the imperial court, musicians were also employed in the mansions and *karkhanas* of the nobility and the wealthy to provide regular entertainment. The author of *Ma'asir-i Rahimi* mentions a number of musicians in the employ of Abdur Rahim Khan-i Khanan. Similarly, a 17th Century miniature of a noble in his *diwankhana* hosting an assembly of poets depicts five musicians seated along with the poets, and playing a flute, *kamancha, tambura, daf,* and *qanun.*[1247] It is interesting that all the instruments here are Persian and that the *tambura* is even held in its original manner as a melody instrument. This suggests that simultaneous the regular practice of recruiting musicians in the service of the nobles. It also suggests a synthesis of Indian and Persian musical traditions at court, foreign music in its original form was still performed in the households of nobles of foreign origin like Zafar Khan even late into the reign of Shah Jahan.

Musical *mehfils* (assemblies) seem to have become quite popular by 18th Century. In Delhi we learn that in these gatherings both instrumental and vocal music was performed. Even noblemen were quite adept to sing *raags* and play musical instruments.[1248]

Like the *bazar* painters, we find that there were *bazar* musicians.the first reference to them is got from the *A'in* itself. Among the types of musicians (*shumāra-i naghma sarayān*) thus Abul Fazl mentions *dafzan*, the tambaourine

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[1247] 'Zafar Khan in the Company of Poets, scholars and musicians', *Masnawi* of Zafar Khan, MS., India Office Library, *f.* 26 r, cf. Amina Okada, *Indian Pictures of the Mughal Court*, New York, 1992.
[1248] Dargah Quli Khan, *Muraqqa-i Dehli*, tr. Chandra Shekhar & Shama Mitra Chenoy, Delhi, 1989, p.40

player, the *dhari* women who apart from singing *dhrupad,* played *daf* and *dhol*. The *Sizdah tāli* were men who played large drums and women who played upon thirteen pairs of *tāla* while they sang. They were generally from Gujarat and Malwa. The *Natwas* were another class who were graceful dancers and players of *pakhāwaj*, *rubāb* and *tāla*.[1249] The *Kirtaniyas* were those who sang the odes to Lord Krishna on their musical instruments roaming from place to place. They were Brahmins by caste. The *bhagatiyya*, were similarly those religious singers in the Indian society who generally performed during the nights and were great mimics. The third class of religious singers and artists were the *bhanvayya*, who sang religious songs while sitting in a copper dish, *thāli*. The *bhānd* were those musical performers who played *dhol* and *tāla*. They also sang and mimicked animals. The *kanjari* were players of *pakhawaj, rubab* and *tāla*. Their women were the dancing girls known as *kanchanis*. Another class of artists mentioned by Abul Fazl in his description of the singers in the Indian society were the *nats* (rope dancers) and the *bahu rupias* (mimics).[1250]

In addition to the setting of the *diwankhana,* music, and singing and dance, also accompanied banquets in the mansions of the elite. In fact, Peter Mundy who sketched dancers and singers and instrumentalists on the *duhul, daf,* and small cymbals performing at a banquet was of the opinion that 'there is scarse any meetinge of freinds without them'.[1251] According to Mundy these entertainers were hired and the style of music they provided depended on their caste. Some it seems, could afford to have them permanently around. Abul Fazl in the *A'in-i Akbari,* describes the '*akhara*' as:

[1249] *Ain*, iii, p.112
[1250] *Ibid*, iii, p. 112-13
[1251] Mundy, *The Travels,* Vol. II, p. 216; for depiction see Peter Mundy, *Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608-67,* Halduyt Society, London, 1914, fig.137

an entertainment held at night by the nobles of this country, some of whose [female] domestic servants are taught to sing and play... It is more common for a band of these *natwas* [dancersl to be retained in service who teach the young slave-girls to perform. Occasionally they instruct their own girls and take them to the nobles and profit largely by commerce. [1252]

For others who did not employ musicians on a regular basis, let alone have them stationed permanently at home, celebratory occasions might still call for music. Mundy observed in Agra that:

[Khattri women] doe Cellebrate their Nuptialls with Drummes, beateing with their hands and singing to it for many dayes and nights together, both att home in the Topps of their howses and in the streets even though 'att other tymes they are scarce to bee scene or heard'.[1253]

A very interesting reference to *bazar* musicians is made by Banarasidas who in his description of his business visit to the mansion of Sahu Sabal Singh, a wealthy Agra merchant, saw such musicians. According to Banarsidas, Sahu Sabal Singh could not be bothered concerning himself with Banarsidas' requests until a mutual acquaintance interceded on his behalf. Our author observed while he patiently waited, musicians performing for the merchant in his house. He describes this affluent merchant as being entertained in the fashion of nobles by '*kalawants*' *(dhrupad* singers) and stringed instruments and the *pakhawaj,* an Indian drum (*dhurai pakhawaj bājai tān ti*).[1254]

Within the context of religious devotion, was a regular way in which people, rich and poor, came into contact with music in the capital cities. Music was a

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[1252], *A in, iii*, p. 113
[1253] Mundy, *The Travels,* Vol. II, p. 221
[1254] Banarasidas, Banarsi Das, *Ardhakathanaka*, tr. & annoted as *Half A Tale*, ed.,& tr., Mukund Lath, Jaipur, 1981,p.79; (text), p. 266

part of devotion amongst one of the dominant Sufi orders in India, the Chishtis,[1255] disapproved of by some orthodox Muslims like Shaikh 'Abd un-Nabi, the *Sadr.*[1256] A miniature from the reign of Shahjahan shows dancing Sufis, two whirling and two that have already collapsed in ecstasy to the ground, in response to the *sama'*[1257]. The *sama'* was poetry sung to a musical accompaniment performed by an ensemble known as the *qawwal.* Although this miniature is unusual with its European pillars in the background copied by the painter from a European engraving or painting, and *Bhakti* saints in the foreground, worshippers ecstatic to the sound of singing and clapping, and the *rubab* and *daf* shown played here, and other instruments, would not have been an unusual sight in the Chishti shrines in the capital cities.

Badauni tells us of this Chishti practice while mentioning the visit of Akbar to the shrine of Khwaja Muinuddin Chishti at Ajmer. He says:

> At the beginning of the blessed month of Ramazan he [Akbar] arrived with 7 *cosses* of Ajmir, and dismounting in his accustomed manner made a pilgrimage to the shrine, and presented a pair of kettledrums of Daud's, which he had vowed lo the music gallery of his reverence Khwajah Mu'in (God sanctify his glorious tomb). And daily according to his custom held in that sacred shrine by night intercourse with holy, learned, and sincere men, and *seances* for dancing and Sufism took place. And the musicians and singers, each one of whom was a paragon without rival, striking their nails into the

[1255] Music is not permitted by all Sufi *tariqas* (orders). The Naqshbandi and the Suhrawardi prohibit it altogether, and some only permitted it if unaccompanied by musical instruments. Regula Burckhardt Qureshi, *Sufi Music of India and Pakistan: Sound, Context and Meaning in Qawwali,* University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1995, p. 82.

[1256] According to Badauni upon the Shaikh's return from Mecca and Medina he objected to 'the ecstatics and vocal music' of the Sufis. Badauni *Muntakhab.* Vol. III. p. 118

[1257] Cf. Pratapaditya Pal, ed. , *Dancing to the Flute,* Sydney, 1997

> veins of the heart used to rend the soul with their mournful cries. And *dirhams* and *dinars* were showered down like raindrops.[1258]

Not only that, but it appears that Akbar himself participated in Sufi music, the *sama'* and the *qawwāli*. To quote Abul Fazl:

> At this time, Bakhshu *qawwāl* recited before him [Akbar] two heart ravishing stanzas in a pleasant manner. The Syllabus of the roll of recognition (of God) displayed a countenance flashing with Divine lights. Those whose vision did not extend beyond the plain outward appearance received spiritual delight (from the singing)...[1259]

It is also interesting to note that till 18th century, we seldom come across any reference to *marsia khwāns* or the recitors of elegies of Karbala.

Music was also a part of devotion at Hindu temples, and as mentioned, *dhrupad,* the dominant vocal style at the Mughal court, had its origins here. Peter Mundy provides a useful sketch of worshippers in a Hindu temple showing a kettledrum, a gong and a *shankh* (conch shell) being played.[1260]

Christian devotional music was also to be heard, introduced during the period under review. Based on the letters of Father Jerome Xavier who was in Agra and Lahore from during Jahangir's reign, Father Fernao Guerreiro writes that during Easter in Lahore in 1607:

> In the early morning [Easter Sunday] there was another grand procession, headed by a cross adorned with roses and other flowers, and accompanied by musicians with hautboys, which they had learnt to play in Goa, having been sent there for that purpose; and as these instruments had never been heard or seen in the country before they attracted many people and caused much

[1258] Badauni *Muntakhab*, Vol. II, p. 188
[1259] Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*,, III, p.378
[1260] See note 1241 supra

astonishment. ...These feasts were followed by that of Corpus Christi, on which occasion one of the Fathers carried through the streets the holy Sacrament enclosed in a glazed tabernacle - under a canopy. A band of Christians surrounded him bearing torches and candles, while others followed, some playing on pipes and some singing, as they went in procession to the church.[1261]

Inside the Jesuit churches in Agra and Lahore there may have been organs as well. Guerreiro writes of two runaway African slaves who had sought sanctuary in the house of the Jesuit priests in Lahore being brought to the attention of a Mughal officer by 'a native of Goa... saying that they were very clever fellows, and that one of them could play the organ and sing Portuguese music'.[1262]

There are also miniatures of wandering minstrels performing in the open air with audiences made up of common people. One such miniature from Jahangir's reign by Govardhan depicts a singer and a *rubab* player performing in a camp possibly of travelling merchants.[1263] Another miniature from Shahjahan's reign shows a man who looks to be a porter seated on the bare ground listening to a singer (a mirror copy of the singer in the Govardhan painting) and a player on an unidentifiable lute.[1264] Admittedly, none of these miniatures look as though they are in an urban setting, but they can be taken as indicative of the prevalence of music among the common people.

In the Mughal capital cities, painting and music was by no means the monopoly of the Mughal court, or nobles and rich merchants who alone could afford

[1261] Guerreiro, *Jahangir*, pp. 33-4
[1262] ibid., p. 27
[1263] 'Group of men listening to a singer and a musician', Minto Album, Ms.7, no.11, Chester Beatty Museum, Dublin, cf. S.C.Welch, *Imperial Mughal Painting*, London, 1978, pl. 28
[1264] 'Rubab player, his companion and a peasant', Bichitr, Minto Album, Victoria & Albert Museum, IM, 27 & A-1925 cf. Krishna Chaitanya, *A History of Indian Painting:Manuscript,Mughal and Deccan Traditions*, New Delhi, 1979, fig. 57

to employ painters or musicians to perform regularly in their mansions. The services of these men of art, the painters and musicians, was enjoyed by the nobility and common people alike, and even for those without the means of hiring their services, the services of the professor of the painting and the music could be enjoyed by all.

Chapter VII

Marks and Symbols of Professionals

[8] Marks and Symbols of Professionals

A large number of Persian documents as well as the medieval structures down to the 19th Century reveal a number of curious marks and symbols carved or drawn along with names of certain individuals. It appears that there was the practice of individuals drawing a sign or mark along with their signatures. These symbols in the documents usually appear to accompany the signatures of the various witnesses who are testifying the deed, which is being put up in a court of law, be it a *hiba nama* (gift deed), *bai'nama* (sale deed) or a *rahn nama* (mortgage deed). A larger number of marks and symbols, sometimes accompanied with names of individuals, are found inscribed on almost all the stones of the medieval monuments, be it the Qutb complex or the Taj. Similar symbols are found on most of the surviving coins of the medieval period. A clue as to what these marks and symbols were is provided by a stray remark of Manucci, when he is writing an account of Emperor Jahangir. I quote:

> It happened one day that he (the Emperor) was on the banks of the river (at Lahore) and saw a pot carried down the stream. He ordered that this pot should be produced before him. It was found to contain a dead body cut into pieces. Orders were given for the officers of justice to discover the culprit, with warning that if they did not find him, all of their heads would be cut off. Among the other expedients they resorted to, one was to order every potter to deliver one pot, and by examining the marks on these, they hoped to trace the vendor of the pot in question. *It is customary in the Mogul country for every*

potter to put his own special mark on his pots. It was thus that they caught the culprit.[1265]

From these remarks of Manucci it becomes manifest that (a) every potter had a mark put on the pot which he created; (b) each potter had a mark which was individual to him; and (c) if you saw the mark you could identify through it, its owner. This would thus mean that the mark put on the pots were the professional mark of the master-craftsman. The surviving evidence before us in the form of legal document and individual stone slabs of the various structure give the evidence that that tradition of professional marks was not confined only to the potters: it was far more prevalent than what the historians have so far thought.

Let us first take the evidence of the symbols found on the legal documents. for this case study I have taken into account three sets of original legal documents. The first two are a set of documents preserved in the National Archives, Delhi, dealing with the sale, purchase and mortgage of houses at Cambay.[1266] Second is the set, the Bhandari documents of Batala which have been reproduced by J.S.Grewal.[1267]

The Cambay Documents mostly consist of sale, mortgage and gift deeds of the properties of the Hindu *banya* merchants of Gujarat. As mentioned above, they contain the signature of a large number of witnesses (*gavāh*), some of whom are women as well as Muslims. Almost all of the witnesses and signatories belonged either to a group of petty merchants (*banya, baqqāl*) or were professionals like weavers (*bunker*) and goldsmiths (*zargar*). A few of them were also *zunnārdārs* i.e. Brahmins. It is interesting to note that the symbols and marks (*alāmat-i dastakhat*) put besides the name of zunnārdārs, *banyas* and *baqqāls* are invariably in the form of

[1265] Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, translated with Introduction and Notes by William Irvine, Calcutta, 1966, I, pp.168-69

[1266] 'Cambay Documents' preserved in the National Archives, Collection nos. *NAI*, 2695 & *NAI, 2702*.

[1267] J.S.Grewal, *In the By-Lanes of History – Some Persian Documents from a Punjab Town*, IIAS, Simla, 1975.(henceforth *Batala Documents*)

a swastika, a symbol with religious affiliations. But it interesting to note that each swastika mark is different from the other.[1268] No two swastikas in these documents are similar. These swastikas are both in Indo-Aryan and German style. It is quite obvious from the way that they have been drawn that a conscious attempt was being made to customize them for their exclusive use. Similarly against the names of the persons professing the weaver's craft the symbols are in the form of their instruments of trade as well as wavy lines connoting, perhaps, the cotton yarn.[1269] The few goldsmiths, who occur in these documents, supplement their names with either flower-bud marks[1270] or, in one case, the slim goldsmith's hammer. [1271]

In the *Batala Documents* without fault, a floral mark is applied along with the name of a *zargar* or *jauhari* (goldsmith and jewellers). Just as in the case of the swastika marks of the Cambay merchants, each flower is individualistic in appearance.[1272] A hook-like or 'S'-shaped design appears along with the names of *telis* (*Kunjadgar*) or oil-pressers.[1273] The printer (*chhapagar*) has a distinct mark betraying his profession.[1274] In another document a *khemadoz* (tent maker) is represented by a pair of open scissors drawn near his signature.[1275] The same document represents two *me'mars* with two different floral symbols while one *me'mar* has the same mark as mark number FS 1 discussed below. The same mark, but a little larger in size, is represented for a dyer.[1276] All this would mean that each profession and within it, each professional would have his own mark through which he could be distinguished.

[1268] See for example *NAI*, 2695 / 1, 3, 6, 14, 16, 28, 30, 31, 32, 33, 36; *NAI*, 2702 / 4, 5, 7, 8, & 12
[1269] E.g., *NAI* 2695 / 5, 29; *NAI* 2702 / 8
[1270] *NAI* 2695 / 4
[1271] *Ibid.* 2695 / 34
[1272] *Batala Documents*, nos. IV, XII, XVI
[1273] *Ibid.*, no.XIII
[1274] *Ibid.*, no. XV
[1275] *Ibid.*, no. XXIII
[1276] *Ibid.*

As in the case of the documents, marks and symbols make their appearance on the buildings as well. Here they represented the master-mason or master stone-cutter.

Among the Romans it was a common practice to stamp bricks with their marks and dates, through which students of architecture can pin-point the period in which a particular structure was built. In ancient Sri-Lanka the building structures had certain marks on their walls and ceilings which have been ascribed to masons.[1277] In Medieval India the inscriptions which have so far been commonly noticed mention architects, or Calligraphers, but seldom the mason or brick-layers. Thus in the case of the Taj Mahal, the only name which comes to us from epigraphy is that of Amanat Khan who has left behind his signature on one of the panels. The Persian sources are also silent as far as the personnel of the building construction under the Mughals are concerned.[1278] They only mention the Chief Architects and. Engineers like Ustad Qasim Khan, the architect of Agra Fort[1279] and Ustad Ahmad and Hamid for Delhi Fort.[1280] As far as the palaces and structures at Fathpur-Sikri are concerned, the sources are silent about their actual builders. We are only informed that craftsmen from areas like Gujarat and Rajasthan were employed in the enterprise. While dealing with the expertise of stone-cutters in India, Shaikh Zain Khawafi informs us that under Babur at Fathpur Sikri, Bayana, Dholpur, Gwalior and Kol (modern Aligarh), "as many as 1491 stone-cutters worked daily".[1281] Abu'l Fazl tells us that three to four thousand masons and other craftsmen were employed in the construction of Agra Fort, while Arif Qandhari says that two thousand stone-cutters and two thousand

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[1277] H. Parker, *Ancient Ceylon*, New Delhi, 1984, pp. 640-47.

[1278] For the various categories of craftsmen involved in constructional.activity and their wages, see my "Organization of Building Construction in Mughal India", paper presented at the Indian History Congress, Dharwar, 1988; see also A.J. Qaisar, *Building Construction in Mughal India – The Evidence from Painting*, Delhi, 1988.

[1279] Gulbadan, *Humayun Nama* Tashkent, 1959, p. 17 Abul Fazl, *Akbar Nama*, ed. Molvi Abdur Rahim, Calcutta, 1879, Vol. II, p. 247.

[1280] Waris, *Badshahnama*, MS. Raza Library, Rampur, (transcript in the Department of History Research Library, AMU, Aligarh), Vol.I, p.38

[1281] Shaikh Zain Khawafi, *Tabaqat-i Baburi*, tr. Hasan Askari, Delhi, 1982, p.134.

skilled masons were employed for the construction work, while eight thousand labourers assisted them.[1282] Though the Persian sources are silent as far as the work force employed in Taj, Sikandara, I'timad ud Daulah are concerned, William Finch gives the figure of three thousand for Sikandara.[1283] Irfan Habib, basing himself on the information available in the Persian sources, reaches a figure of 5,000 to 8,000 building craftsmen employed in the construction at Fathpur Sikri.[1284] But who these stone-cutters and masons were, and how they worked still remains obscure. Practically no documentary evidence for them appears to have survived. The only evidence for these sections of society may, then, be the innumerable marks and signatures which they have left behind on their grand creations.[1285]

I therefore undertook a survey of some Mughal Monuments at Agra and Fathpur Sikri, like the Aram Bagh (*Bagh-i Nur Afshan*), now popularly known as *Ram Bagh* at Agra; the Fathpur Sikri, Sikandar, Itimad ud Daulah and the Agra Fort.[1286] I also examined the Qutub Complex and Humayun's Tomb in Delhi in order to trace comparable stone-cutters' marks with those at Agra and Fathpur Sikri.

For better comprehension each mark found in a particular building has been numbered and prefixed with the first alphabet of the name of the building.(See Chart) Thus Mark 1 in the Chart for Fathpur Sikri is numbered FS 1. Similar tabulation has been done with the signatures, where the letter 'S' has been inserted in the numbers of

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[1282] Abu'l Fazl, *Akbarnama*, ed. Abdur Rahim, Calcutta, 1886, Vol.II, p.247; Arif Qandhari, *Tarikh-i Akbari*, Rampur, 1962, p.145.

[1283] Finch's account in *Early Travels in India*, 1583-1619, ed. Foster, Oxford, p.121.

[1284] Irfan Habib, "The Economic and Social Setting", *Marg*, vol. XXXVIII, no.2 (special on Akbar and Fatehpur-Sikri), pp.79-80.

[1285] For a brief introductory note on the marks at Taj and Fathpur Sikri, see R.Nath, *The Taj Mahal and its Incarnation*, Jaipur, 1985, Appendix III, and idem, *Architecture of Fatehpur-Sikri (Supplement to History of Mughal Architecture*, Vols.I – II), Jaipur, 1988, p.95-98.

[1286] The survey of the mason's mark in the Agra region was conducted by the present author way back in 1989. For the marks and signatures at *Tehra Muhri* at Fathpur, I am thankful to Professor Iqtidar Alam Khan who provided me with the photographs from his project, 'The Medieval Dams and Barrages in India', aided by NISTADS, New Delhi.

the signatures to distinguish them from the Marks. Thus the first signature given in the Signature Chart for Fathpur Sikri is represented as FS(s) 1.

These marks and signatures in the majority of case are carved on the pillars, their backets and floor slabs, though they are also sometimes to be found on the ceilings (similar to those in the ground floor of *Abdarkhana* at Fathpur Sikri and *Musamman* [Saman] *Burj* in Agra Fort) and walls (again mostly in Fathpur Sikri and the Taj Mahal). On the pillars, apart from the brackets, the usual place for their appearance seems to be the base and the portion of the shaft near the bracket – though might also be found in the middle. Interestingly enough, no attempt has been made to deliberately hide them. In fact their presence at Fathpur Sikri on the *Diwan-i Am* pillars and the niches of the *Emperor's seat* is quite prominent. Though they are generally small, at some places like the verandah of the *Hujra-i Anuptalao* ["Turkish Sultana's House"] and the cloisters west of it, they are large enough to be discerned even by the unsuspecting eye. On the other hand, in a few places like '*Chahar-suffa*' [the Panch Mahal], the so-called "Kitchen" near the *Shabistan-i Iqbal* [the main *haramsara* popularly known as 'Jodhbai Palace'] in Fathpur Sikri and the octagonal tower and the Gate leading to the courtyard between the *Nagina Masjid* and the *Diwan-i khas* at Agra Fort, the marks appear to have been hidden below heavy plaster or paintings (e.g. in the so-called 'Kitchen' mentioned above) while some of the signatures in the *Khas Mahal,* Agar Fort, have been tucked away in a corner. Now if one compares the marks still present on some of the walls and platform-stones of the Quwwatul Islam Mosque and the arched openings of *Alauddin's Madras* in Qutub Complex, from the point of view of their appearance and quality, it would be instantly seen that those at the Mughal monuments are more refined and those at the Qutub, cruder.

As far as the signatures are concerned, the script is in almost all cases – apart from a few in the Taj and the Agra Fort – is *Devanagari*. It is only in the Taj Mahal and the *Khas Mahal* of the Agra Fort that the Persian characters have been employed.

We have first to answer the question as to (a) who affixed these marks and signatures and (b) at what stage of construction were these fixed?

Would it be proper to call these marks in the Mughal monuments as "masons' marks" as R. Nath does,[1287] and the signatures to be "mason's signatures"? To me, though, it would look more proper to designate them as "stone-cutter's marks", for nowhere else, apart from stone buildings and structures, does one find them. They are not seen on bricks or plaster covering the stone-rubble. They can be "mason's marks" only if we understand the term in the sense of a stone-mason or stone-cutter involved in the work of joining the stone pieces together and not if it connotes the sense of an ordinary *me'mar* working with lime-mortar and bricks.

Now if we take a look once again at the marks cited above as represented in the documents, we may see that the scissor represent the job of cutting and stitching of cloth; a hook is used even today by the oil-pressers in their profession while the circle may connote a dyer's vat. The flowers are natural for a profession related to gold and jewellery. But a floral pattern may as well be used by a stone-cutter to represent his expertise in carving stone panels and screens on that pattern. Thus in other words, is this a mark of the sub-profession of a *mambatkar* or *parchinkar*? A look at the Chart of Marks for Taj reveals, that marks based on floral design abound. Two of them are also made in relief (T 173 and T 176). They may represent the mark of embosser. Can we then, by the same logic define the mark represented by a simple circle (like FS 1) as the mark of a professional involved in joining the pieces with

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[1287] R. Nath, *op.cit.*

lime, (the mark then representing a lime-kiln), and the geometrical design to be that of the *muhandis* or architect?

Before proceeding further, let us first look at the type of marks which are found in the monuments under survey. Broadly speaking, these marks can be classified as Zodiacal, Geometrical, Cross-shaped, Linear, Animate, Floral and Weapons. If we analyse the marks by these heads, then FS 7 and T 134 are similar to the sign of Aries; FS 21 and T 66 resemble that of Leo; T 46 is the sign of Pisces whereas AF 16 and AF 17 are of Aquarius. Similarly FS 6, AF 30, AF 33, S 28, S 41, and T 133 are the signs of Mercury. AD 20 and ID 13 are quite similar to the sign for the sun.

The geometrical marks include all those which are based on circular, triangular, curved, square or rectangular patterns. Thus FS 1 to FS 5, FS 8 to FS 10, FS 15, FS 43, AB 23, AF 19, AF 21, ID 14 to ID 17, S 18 to S 21 and T 109 to T 132 are all based on a circle. FS 11 to FS 14, FS 16 to FS 25, FS 52 to FS 55, FS 136, AB 5 to AB 15, AF 15, AF 23 to AF 29, AF 82, AF 83, ID 33, S 1 to S 7, S 12, S 13, S 17, S 35, S 42, to S 45 and T 49 to T 77 are curve-based. Among the angular signs are FS 39, FS 40, AF 13, ID 77 to ID 79, T 1 to T 13, T 30 to T 32 and T 49. Then FS 35 to FS 38, AB 5, AB 6, AB 19 to AB 22, AF 14, ID 10 to ID 12, S 22 to S 24 and T 78 to T 87 are based on a triangle. Similarly FS 27 to FS 31, AB 18, AB 43, ID 8, ID 9, ID 49, T 91, T 92 and T 97 are square or rectangular. Four marks in the Taj (T 93 to T 96) are hexagonal, wheras FS 44 to FS 46, AF 37, ID 40, S 48, T 143 and T 144 show miscellaneous geometrical patterns.

Among the Cross marks we have a number of variations.Thus we have a simple Cross, a cross encircled by a square, swastikas of Indo-Aryan and German styles, guarded cross and barred-cross. FS 47 to FS 51, AB 27 to AB 30, AF 8 to AF

12, ID 34 to ID 38, ID 74, S 14 to S 16, S 25 to S 29 and T 99 to T 107 are of this category.

FS 60 to FS 73, AB 26, AB 33, AF 22, S 34 and T 27 to T 37 are linear marks. The animate marks are represented only in a large variety of fish motifs, though in Itimad ud Daulah can be seen ID 39, ID 44 and ID 48 which represent human (or demi-god?) figurines. The largest number of fish marks are found at Fathpur Sikri (55) followed by Itimad ud Daulah, Sikandara and Taj. A perusal of the fish marks become interesting if one observes how one mark has been distinguished from another by distinct strokes marking the fins or the shape of the tails, head, the placing of the eye dots or their omission, and so on.

The Charts would also show the numerous weapons being depicted. They generally include the bow and arrow, the spears, swords, tridents, elephant goads and axes.

As observed earlier, floral marks abound in the Taj, though they can be seen in other monuments as well.

Now, if we carry on the argument initiated above, we would suggest that all these different categories represented one general line of profession or sub-specialization. But if the geometrical marks indicate the profession of a *muhandis*, what would the zodiacal and planetary signs point to? Did they also belong to a specialized class of architects? We know that the Persian sources employ expressions like *astarlab shinas*, *aqlidas nazar, hindisa pardaz, jadu asar* etc., when thay mention some architects.[1288] Lutfullah Muhandis, the architect-son of Ustad Ahmad, the architect of Delhi Fort and presumably of the Taj, being an expert in his profession

[1288] See my paper "Organization of Building Construction in Mughal India", presented at the Dharwad session of Indian History Congress, 1988.

also prepared a text on Almanacs entitled *Taqwim-i Lutfi*[1289] His son Khairullah Muhandis apart from supervising constructions of various observatories, also wrote quite a few treatises on astronomy.[1290] He was also appointed the director of the Delhi observatory in 1718.[1291] Apart from these, there are a sizeable number of works on architecture which also deal with the science of astronomy and mathematics.[1292] In a Sanskrit text of the 11th Century AD, *Samarangana-Sutradhara*, the knowledge of all *sastras* and traditional sciences (which includes astronomy) is recommended for an architect to know.[1293] All this would strengthen the view that the zodiacal signs like the geometrical ones were employed by some of the categories of master-craftsmen who were involved in the architectural aspects of the construction.

With regard to the weapon-marks, R.Nath tends to believe that they were the marks of true 'stone-cutters', but he does not provide us with reasons for this.[1294] However, one would tend to ask: which category of *sangtarash* does he have in mind? If the floral pattern belonged to those stone-cutters specializing in engraving, inlaying and embossing, in other words, the *parchinkar* and *mambatkar*, then probably the weapon-marks like the tridents, bows, arrows and axes were the signs either of the *naqqash* (the tracer or the carver) or the *sadahkar* or the plain stone-cutter, but more probably the former. The axe might well have been the mark of the chiseller of the stone pieces.

As far as the fish mark is concerned, the association of fish with any constructional craft is not easy to establish. In Fathpur Sikri these marks are found

[1289] Cf. A.Rahman , M.A.Alvi & c., *Science and Technology in Medieval India – A Bibliography of Source Materials in Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian*, New Delhi, 1982, s.v. Astronomy, p.324
[1290] *Ibid.*, p.285.
[1291] M.A.Chaghtai, *Ahmad Me'mar Lahor aur uska Khandan*, 1957, Lahore, (Urdu), p.37.
[1292] Rahman & Alvi, *op.cit.*, s.v. Architecture.
[1293] Cf. Ahsan Jan Qaisar, *Building Construction in Mughal India – The evidence from Painting*, Delhi, 1988, p.39.
[1294] R.Nath, *The Taj and its Incarnation*, op.cit., p.47.

mostly on the well-polished pillar brackets; and at Sikandara, on the platform (plinth) on which the mausoleum is raised. Should then one conclude that these fish marks belonged to the expert polishers of the stone surfaces? The fish may well have conveyed their technique in using water while polishing the stone, though this is pure speculation.

There is a further problem to resolve. At a number of places in each building a single stone slab has more than one mark, or a single pillar has on its surface various marks (see Tables XII & XIII). Would it then mean that in case of more than one sign, one sign may be that of the supervisor who is depicted in the Mughal miniatures standing over each set of artisans? Was it he who put one of his marks as a proof of his approval and checking? It would be most interesting to note that in the majority of the cases of combination of two or more marks on the same slab; at least one is a geometrical one. Would it then be possible to say that the mace-bearing supervisory personnel depicted in the paintings was in fact a subordinate architect who also left behind some of these marks?

Apart from these marks, are found a large number of signatures on these stone slabs, as we have already mentioned. Can we assume that the mark and the signature belong to the same individual as in the documents? Do they connote the proper name of the craftsman or that of the 'brotherhood'? In other words, was *Hamu* [हमु] (FS(s) 117) or *Meen* [मीन] (FS(s) 99) of Fathpur Sikri, the name of an individual or was it a group name? More probably it was the name of a craftsman, for as we shall see subsequently, the mark of the profession carries on from one structure to the other, but the signatures seldom appear to do so (see Table XV). As to the profession of the signatories, at least two things are sure. First, the signatory was not in most cases the affixer of the accompanying mark on that slab, and, second, he was not himself

cutting his own name on the slab. If one looks at the Table XII it would be clear that the mark and "signature" usually keeps on changing company. For example, if T(s) 30 (*Madh*) is coupled with T 66 (the sign of Leo), then at another place it is paired with T 88 (a triangular mark), similarly if the signature '*Kharagu*' (FS(s) 18) is with FS 36 (triple triangular mark), then we find the same mark with yet another signature (T(s) 105). As for the second contention that it was not cut or carved by the person named himself, we have to look at the signature charts for each monument. Signatures like FS(s) 26, FS(s) 55, FS(s) 87, FS(s) 100, FS(s) 118, T(s) 41, S(s) 13, S(s) 36, etc., which in fact have been drawn in the reverse; that is they would be readable from their mirror image. Thus FS(s) 118 is in fact 'Hamu' (FS(s) 117); S(s) 36 is actually '*Pema*' (S(s) 35). This in turn suggests that the name (or for that matter, the mark) was drawn from some stencilled material and then handed over to the *naqqash* (the tracer or carver), who being illiterate, sometimes handled it wrongly. Then again, for example, if we have a look at FS(s) 4 [*Kesomal*] and FS(s) 5 [*Kesomalu*] or FS(s) 116 [*Ham*] and FS(s) 117 [*Hamu*], we would realize that the tracer sometimes fails to correctly carve the name. Thus 'Kesomal' turns into 'Kesomalu' and 'Hamu' is reduced to 'Ham'. In Itimadud Daulah, 'Kasi' is reduced to 'Kasa' (ID(s) 1 & 2); at Sikandra, 'Khargu' is reduced to 'Kharag' (S(s) 9 & S(s) 10). These charts reveal many such omissions or corruptions. Then again we find that sometimes the name is cut by using different alphabets. An example of this type can be seen in FS(s) 33 and FS(s) 34 where '*sh*' has been replaced with '*s*'; or ID(s) 14 and ID(s) 15 where '*dha*' has been replaced with '*d*'. Thirdly, sometimes different variants in script for the same letter in the same name in the same monument are found. An example of this could be cited, for example, from FS(s) 17 and FS(s) 18 where the letter '*ra*' [र] is given in two different ways; or ID(s) 11 to ID(s) 13 where even the letter '*i*' [इ]

keeps on changing. These examples point out that the persons carving the names or signatures could not be the same. From all appearances it would thus mean that the signature belongs to the *master-craftsman* and has nothing to do with the petty tracer. Probably it belonged to the man put in-charge of each group of craftsmen.

Sometimes more than one signature appears on some slabs. Possibly, one was of the master-craftsman-incharge of one category of the work, and the second of the assayer of the work while the third, if present, was that of the supervisor. Alternatively they might have been co-workers in the same profession engaged in work on the same part of the building.

We find that sometimes the same mark is carried on to another monument of another period.

The Aram Bagh was laid out by Babur in 1526 which was then subsequently renovated sometime under Jahangir, on the orders of Nurjahan Begum. Humayun's Tomb was subsequently constructed between 1565 and 1569. Approximately in the same period (1565) work on Agra Fort started and by 1568 its *Dehli Darwaza* ('Delhi Gate') was completed. One year later, the *Jahangiri Mahal* of this fort was ready. The *Musamman Burj* (the 'Saman Burj') was built between 1628 and 1630 and five years later, *Diwan-i Khas* complex of the same fort was constructed. Another five years passed (i.e. in 1640) before the *Khas Mahal* and *Diwan-i Am* were given shape. On the other hand, work started on Akbar's tomb in 1605 and was över by 1612. The construction of the Tomb of Itimadud Daulah was done between 1622 and 1628.

As far as Fathpur Sikri is concerned, the foundations of the Imperial buildings and the mosque were laid in 1568-69 and the work in the latter was over in 1571-72. The complex near *Anup Talao* tank was ready by 1575-76. As far as the date for the

construction of *Diwan-i Am* is concerned, we have no definite knowledge, though it is generally held that it came sometime after the completion of the *Khwabgah*.

In other words, the Humayun's Tomb, the *Jahangiri Mahal*, and the *Dehli Darwaza* of the Agra Fort all date back to Akbar's reign. The Aram Bagh pavilions, the Sikandara and Itimadud Daulah belong to Jahangir's reign while the other complexes of Agra Fort date from Shahjahan's reign.

With this chronology in mind, it would be interesting to study Tables XIV and XV. Out of the total 191 marks in Fathpur Sikri, 36 are also found at the Taj, 19 at Itimadud Daulah, 17 in Sikandara, 15 each in Agra Fort and Aram Bagh, 8 in the Qutub Complex and 5 at Humayun's Tomb. Of a total of 211 marks in the Taj, 56 are repeated in other monuments: 22 in Sikandara, 19 in Agra Fort, 16 in Itimadud Daulah, 12 in Aram Bagh, 7 in the Qutub Complex and 5 in Humayun's Tomb. Similarly at Sikandara, out of 74 marks, 29 are repeated elsewhere, 12 being in Itimadud Daulah, 10 in Agra Fort, 9 in Aram Bagh, 5 in Qutub Complex and 2 in Humayun's Tomb. We also see that in Agra Fort and Aram Bagh, out of 38 and 43, around half of them, *viz.*24 and 20 respectively are repeated elsewhere. As far as signatures are concerned, only 10 similarities in more than one monument are found.

This would suggest that the marks in these buildings in fact represent the hereditary groups of the craftsmen engaged in the same profession, rather than personal marks. They might as well be termed '*guild marks*' of a profession, which carried on year after year, reign after reign. When we find references that for the building of such complexes as Fathpur Sikri and the Taj, craftsmen and artisans came all the way from places like Gujarat and Rajasthan, we may assume that they came under the leadership of their master-craftsmen to whom they were tied either by

family loyalty or by professional links. Thus the various characters in signatures vary, while the marks, representing caste or professional groups recur.

The question at this juncture then would be, that at what stage were these marks and signatures cut on the slabs? One hypothesis in this regard could be that as the stones needed for the monuments were cut at the quarry itself into pieces of sizes which could be easily carted to the site of construction; these marks were inscribed at the quarry itself. This hypothesis, if correct, would render our discussion above regarding the crafts they represent as irrelevant. For then, these marks would be those of the quarry from where the stone was brought. But the evidence of paintings shows that the stone blocks were actually dressed at the site, for they show cutting, chiselling and shaping of the stones for the required size being carried on at the building site itself. [See Plates…] Secondly, scrutiny of the slabs makes it clear that these marks and signatures were put after the stone slabs had been polished. It is important to note that on no un-polished stone have these signatures or marks been found in any of the monuments. This in effect would mean that the mark was put on the site itself and not the quarry. But then, was it put after the stone slab had been placed in its proper position in the building, or at the time it was polished and ready to be so placed? From some of the slabs at Aram Bagh it appears that the mark (e.g. AB 19) was carved only after the slabs had been fixed at their places, as the marks are cut in such a manner that they sometimes overlap two slabs. The in the courtyard of the *Jami' Masjid*, at Fathpur Sikri, some of the slabs have certain marks (e.g. FS 32) which are drawn on two adjoining slabs in such a fashion that a linear symmetry is maintained.Thirdly, at '*Samosa Mahal*' (Fathpur Sikri), one column giving support to an arched opening is constructed with the help of square stone slabs, as against the usual slabs or rubble-stone used throughout this structure. The middle of this block has a sign carved on it.

It is drawn at exactly the same level as other signs drawn on the other pillars. This in turn would suggest the putting of the mark only after the slabs and blocks were fixed.

We have, however, contrary evidence as well. If one looks at the marks and signatures, especially on brackets and pillars, where it would be easier to comprehend, they appear to rotate around their axis, suggesting thereby that the mark or signature was put soon after polishing and before the final fixing: For why else should the name or mark be carved upside down? Further, we have evidence of marks being drawn, and then being defaced with the cutting of the stone when it was being fixed, re-inforcing the view that the mark was drawn before the actual placement of the stone. Thus at Itimadud Daualah, ID 28, and at another place, a fish, partially disappear as the slab was cut while giving it an angle. Thirdly, if one looks at the position of marks on the pavement slabs, especially at Sikandar, Taj and the Aram Bagh, it appears that though sometimes a mark is repeated consecutively on a series of slabs, their placement is haphazard, suggesting that the mason fixing them did not care which stone was placed where. This would again suggest our second contention of the marks being drawn before actual placement.

Yet another interesting feature which is seen in relation to these marks is that on some slabs, a mark was drawn, but later it was defaced and a new one replaced it. Thus at Sikandara , on a slab S 17 was drawn, but then partially erased and S 22 drawn afresh near it. In the *'Chaharsuffa'* [the so-called 'Panch Mahal'] at Fathpur Sikri, a fish mark was half drawn on a slab; later the carver appears to have changed his mind and scratched it off to replace FS 147 and FS 149 on the slab. In the *daftarkhana*, FS 45 was half drawn but not completed. A complete FS 109 is drawn on the same slab. Likewise in the portico situated east of the *Diwan-i Khas*, Fathpur

Sikri, a fish was first half drawn and then scratched. On the same slab, besides this half drawn mark, are placed FS 45 and FS 170.

Now that we have commented on what these marks were and when they were drawn, let us come to the question of why they were drawn at all.

While discussing the mason's marks found in structures of ancient Sri Lanka, Parker suspects a superstitious and religious motive behind them. It was for auspiciousness and charm that these marks were put. He goes into a discussion of the Vedanta literature to find religious meaning of the marks and attributes them as the symbols of Vishnu or Soma or Rudra. The 'cross marks', he claims, were actually magical diagrams having "mystical signification....based on their protective functions".[1295] He also interprets the upright cross enclosed in a square (like T 97) by making a symbolic study of that sign since Chaldean and Assyrian times. He again reaches the conclusion by basing on their 'protective values'.[1296] Similarly Crooke, while dealing with the fish symbol, points to it being an incarnation of Vishnu and, in the Islamic tradition, the vehicle of Khwaja Khizr. Commenting on its being drawn on walls of houses, he found this mark 'as a charm against demoniacal influence'.[1297] Nath too follows the same line of perception, while dealing with these marks in his articles.[1298]

Commenting on the linear marks like FS 61 – 68, Nath opines that they might denote 'slope and water-level' and thus their actual location was the 'key to their meaning'.[1299] In view of the above discussion, at least this much is evident that whatever they were, they were not 'slope and water-level', for, from their very

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[1295] *Ancient Ceylon*, op.cit., pp.514, 516, 643-4.
[1296] *Ibid.*, pp.646-7. See also JM Campbell, "Notes on the Spirit, Basis of Belief and Custom", *The Indian Antiquary*, vol. XXIII, p.161.
[1297] W.Crooke, *The Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India,* vol.II, 1968, Delhi, pp.253-54.
[1298] R.Nath, *op.cit.*
[1299] R.Nath, *Architecture of Fatehpur Sikri,*op.cit., p.97; idem, *The Taj and its Incarnation*, op.cit, pp.46-47.

location this would be ridiculous. We have seen that no exact direction for the marks is found, as they keep on rotating on their axis. Secondly, what would a 'slope mark' do on a pillar or a ceiling? Similarly marks like FS 110 do not appear to be plumb lines, but seem to represent tridents and thus be weapon signs.

Whether or not these signs were auspicious, or vehicles of the Hindu Pantheon or a Semitic prophet, there is no denying the fact that the marks used symbols based on a particular culture. We have established at least that their 'locus' does not appear to be the 'key to their meaning'. This would be more true for the various numerals in *devanagari* which have been placed on piers of *Tehra Muhri*, on the eaves of the so-called *Panch Mahal*, or on the pillar base and brackets of the pavilion near *Khas Mahal* in the Agra Fort; or the numbering done on the door sills of the canopy of the *Musamman Burj* of the same Fort. These numbers do point towards the purpose of placement of each pillar in consonance with each other, as well as the brackets. But the marks and signatures we are discussing could never have such a purpose.

One plausible explanation regarding the purpose of these marks might have been for verifying the work done by a group of craftsmen in order to assess their wages by the job. But then how were the *mambatkar* and *parchinkar* paid then, as nowhere on the panels or screens worked by them do we get their marks. The only place we possibly find marks, as has been already mentioned, are on pavements, bare pillars and platforms. What was the mode of verification of their work then? Or for that matter, how does one explain the presence of the same mark or signature two or three times on the same slab? If it was to count the quantum of work accomplished, what was the need of this duplication or triplication of the same symbol on the same slab? Then a look at Table XIII would further complicate the situation. What then was

the purpose of more than one signature of the same and also various kinds and the marks on a single pillar?

Our tentative suggestion, that we have already ventured to set out, is that:

(a) The marks, like the symbols and marks in legal documents, were of particular professional groups and thus analogous to 'guild-marks';

(b) The signatures were those of higher, supervisory staff, though, like architects, they had marks as well;

(c) The marks were put out of tradition or vanity and had little to do with work verification.

Perhaps, as more of these symbols and signatures are scrutinized and subjected to close analysis, we would be able to move to a definitive resolution of the problem.

TABLE I

MARKS AT FATHPUR SIKRI (FS)

STRUCTURE-WISE BREAK-UP

I. *Diwan-i Am* Cloisters (Total = 59):

1, 14, 20,28, 30, 33, 34, 39, 40, 41, 42, 45, 52, 53, 54, 56, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 85, 86, 87, 88, 91, 92, 93, 99, 105, 109, 110, 111, 115, 137, 138, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 186, 190, 191.

II. *Diwan-i Am*, 'Emperor's Seat', its chamber and Verandah (Total = 13):

(a) The Chamber niches:

20, 21, 23, 42, 54, 120, 139.

(b) The Door leading into the balcony:

128.

(c) Ventilator of this door:

120

(d) Door leading to Courtyard of *daulatkhana*:

21

(e) The Verandah:

(i) Niche on the left: 121

(ii) Walls: 56

(iii) Pillars: 45, 56, 89.

III. Floor slabs of the Courtyard of the *daulatkhana* before the 'Diwan-i khas'[Lotus Pillar Chamber/*Chaharkhana*]:

1, 20, 59, 80, 96, 121, 143, 165, 169.

IV. Floor slabs of the *daulatkhana-i Anuptalao*:

36, 38, 42, 50, 105, 111.

V. Cloisters around the *daulatkhana* Courtyard:

(a) Cloisters just below the *chaharsuffa* ['Panch Mahal']:

33, 45, 147, 149.

TABLE I (Continued)

(b) Cloisters aligned E-W to the South of *chaharsuffa*:

143, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184.

(c) Cloisters below the *khwabgah*:

112, 161, 171, 172, 186.

(d) Cloisters to the West of the *khwabgah*:

150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160.

(e) Cloistered gallery connecting *hujra-i anuptalao* ['Turkish Sultana's house'] to the *khwabgah*:

78, 95.

(f) Cloisters connected with *hujra-i anuptalao* towards the West:

42, 100.

(g) Cloistered gallery to the North of *chaharkhana*:

33, 46, 52, 115.

(h) Cloisters adjoining the 'Treasury'/ '*Ankhmichauli*':

21, 45, 46.

VI. Verandah of *hujra-i anuptalao*(N):

43.

VII. *Chaharkhana* ['Lotus-Pillar Hall']:

(a) Western door: 117.

(b) Southern door: 131.

VIII. Portico to the East of *Chaharkhana*:

(a) Ceilings: 28.

(b) Pillars: 6, 21, 45, 139.

IX. Platform between 'Astrologer's Seat' and *Chaharkhana*:

1, 20, 33, 45, 77, 121.

X. Floor of 'Astrologer's Seat':

21, 47.

XI. *Abdarkhana*:

(a) Ground Floor:

TABLE I (Continued)

(i) Pillars: 21, 42, 45, 84, 95, 109.

(ii) Pillar brackets: 2, 15, 42, 45, 46, 52, 56, 109, 136.

(iii) Ceilings: 2, 15, 30, 42, 45, 56, 79, 80, 94, 121, 136.

(b) Top Floor:

(i) Pillars: 3, 33, 42, 109, 129, 130.

(ii) Pillar brackets: 42, 72, 109.

(iii) Doorways: 41, 42, 44, 136.

(iv) Niches: 33, 44, 46, 121.

(v) Ceiling: 4, 15, 42, 43, 46, 56, 77.

XII. *Khwabgah*:

(a) Exterior: 1, 27, 28, 33, 37, 45, 56, 69, 109.

(b) Interior: 56, 60, 71, 80, 107, 109.

(c) Pillars of Verandah (E): 36, 109

XIII. *Chaharsuffa* ['Panch Mahal']:

(a) Ground Floor: 1, 20, 50, 56, 91, 111.

(b) First Floor: 102.

(c) Second Floor: 1, 10, 35.

(d) Third Floor: 1.

(e) Top Floor: 1, 45.

XIV. Cloisters adjoining to the South of *Chaharsuffa*:

19, 56, 73, 76, 110, 111, 169, 173, 174.

XV. Cloisters near the Gateway to the North of the so-called 'Mariam's Palace':

80, 110, 185.

XVI. *Shabistan-i Iqbal* ['Jodhbai Palace']:

(a) Courtyard: 41, 109.

(b) Central Hall on the West: 22, 57.

(c) Rooms to the South of the Main Gate: 109

(d) Central Hall on the South: 74, 75

(e) Eastern Room on the South: 23

TABLE I (Continued)

(f) Floor slabs on the Platform in front of the Gate: 46

(g) Gallery to the South of the Gate: *illegible dates*

(h) Cloisters to the North of the Gate: 4, 34, 113, 139.

XVII. Pavement towards the Booking Office near the *Shabistan-i Iqbal*:
28, 80, 151.

XVIII. So-called 'Kitchen' in front of the *Shabistan-i Iqbal*:

(a) Eaves: 28, 56.

(b) Interior (walls & pillars): 4, 56, 91, 109, 118, 144, 187.

XIX. 'Ladies *Karkhana*' (niches): 42, 110.

XX. Palace to the North of this: 76

XXI. *Daftarkhana*:

(a) Main Building Pillars: 21, 23, 24, 25, 35, 51 76, 166

(b) Cloisters to its West: 1, 2, 28, 33, 41, 45, 56, 66, 67, 76, 90, 109, 143, 145.

(c) Double Pillared Gallery in the North: 1, 20, 111

(d) Cloisters to the West of (c): 167, 168

XXII. *Jami' Masjid*:

(a) Courtyard near *Badshahi* Gate: 7, 21, 29, 41, 49, 50, 108.

(b) Middle Portion of the Courtyard: 41, 48, 49 51, 52, 56, 70, 84, 120, 122, 123, 143, 161, 162.

(c) Courtyard Portion to the South of the Water Tank: 9, 11, 12, 16, 17, 18, 26, 32, 41, 98, 99, 103, 104, 163.

(d) Courtyard towards the Sanctuary of the Mosque: 6, 8, 55

(e) Gallery Fronting the Cubicles, to the West of the *Buland Darwaza*: 33, 45, 124, 125, 126

(f) Sanctuary of the Mosque:

(i) South: 5, 13, 119, 132, 164

(ii) North: 21, 58, 101, 105, 106, 134.

TABLE I (Continued)

XXIII. Samosa Mahal: 21, 23, 28, 30, 139, 188, 189

XXIV. Structure atop the *Sarai* near the *Hathipol*: 42, 76, 127

XXV. Hathipol: 108, 110, 135, 143

XXVI. Gallery to the South-East of the *Hathipol*: 1, 51

XXVII. Gallery near the *Hauz-i Shireen*: 50, 51, 89, 97, 114, 133

XXV. Agra Gate: 42

XXIX. Tehra Muhri: 21, 45

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TABLE II

MARKS AT FATHPUR SIKRI (FS):

REPITITION OF MARKS

FS 45: Diwan-i Am; Emperor's Seat Complex; Cloisters just below *Chaharsuffa*; Cloisters adjoining 'Treasury'/ '*Ankhmichauli*'; Portico (E) *Chaharkhana*; Platform between As.rologer's seat and *Chaharkhana*; *Abdarkhana*; *Khwabgah*; *Daftar-khana*; *Chaharsuffa* ('Panch Mahal'); *Jami'* Mosque; *Tehra Muhri*.

FS 56: *Diwan—i Am*; Emperor's Seat; Cloisters adjoining to the South of *Chaharsuffa* (Panch Mahal); Abdarkhana; Khwabgah; *Chaharsuffa*; 'Kitchen' near *Shabistan-i Iqbal* ('Jodhbai Palace'); Daftarkhana; *Jami'* Mosque.

FS 33: *Diwan-i Am*; Cloisters just below *Chaharsuffa*; Cloisters to the North of *Chaharkhana* and the 'Treasury'; Platform between Astrologers' Seat and 'Treasury'; Abdarkhana; Khwabgah; Daftarkhana; Mosque.

FS 1. *Diwan-i Am*; Courtyard in front of *Chaharkhana*; Platform between Astrologer's seat and 'Treasury'; *Khwabgah*; *Chaharsuffa*; Daftarkhana; Gallery to the South East of *Hathipol*.

FS 28: *Diwan-i Am*; Portico to the East of *Chaharkhana*; *Khwabgah*; *Daftarkhana*; 'Kitchen' near *Shabistan-i Iqbal* (Jodhbai's Palace); Pavement near the Booking Office; *Samosa Mahal*.

TABLE I (Continued)

FS 42: *Diwan-i Am*; Emperor's Seat; Courtyard of the *Daulatkhana-i Anuptalao*; Cloisters to the east of *hujra-i Anuptalao* ('Turkish Sultana's house'); *Abdarkhana*; *Chaharsuffa*; *Yatishkhana* of the *darogha-i sarai* (Structure atop the *Hathipol Sarai*); Agra Gate.

FS 109: *Diwan-i Am*; Cloistered Verandah of the *Khwabgah*; *Daftarkhana*; *Abdarkhana*; *Khwabgah*; *Shabistan-i Iqbal*; Kitchen near *Shabistan-i Iqbal.*

FS 20: *Diwan-i Am*; Emperor's Seat; Courtyard in front of *Chaharkhana*; Platform between Astrologer's Seat and 'Treasury'; *Chaharsuffa*; *Daftarkhana*.

FS 80: *Diwan-i Am*; Courtyard in front of *Chaharkhana*; *Abdarkhana*; *Khwabgah*; *Chaharsuffa*; Pavement near the Jodhbai palace Booking Office..

FS 143: *Diwan-i Am*; Courtyard in front of *Chaharkhana*; Cloisters aligned E-W to the South of *Chaharsuffa* ; *Daftarkhana*; Mosque; *Hathipol.*

FS 76: *Diwan-i Am*; Cloisters to the South of *Chaharsuffa*; *Daftarkhana*; *Chaharsuffa*; *Yatishkhana* of the *darogha-i sarai.*

FS 111: *Diwan-iAm*; Courtyard of the *daulatkhana-i Anuptalao*; Cloisters to the South of *Chaharsuffa*; *Chaharsuffa*; *Daftarkhana.*

FS 139: *Diwan-i Am*; Emperor's Seat; Portico to the East of 'Treasury' and the Chaharkhana; *Chaharkhana*; Cloisters to the North of *Shabistan-i Iqbal*; *Samosa Mahal.*

FS 34: *Diwan-i Am*; Cloisters to the North of *Chaharkhana*; *Chaharkhana*; Cloisters to the North of *Shabistan-i Iqbal.*

FS 52: *Diwan-i Am*; Cloisters to the North of *Chaharkhana*; *Abdarkhana*; *Jami'* Mosque.

FS 110: *Diwan-i Am*; Cloisters to the South of *Chaharsuffa*;*Chaharsuffa*; *Hathipol.*

FS 41: *Diwan-i Am*; *Daftarkhana*; *Shabistan-i Iqbal*; *Jami'*Mosque.

FS 91: *Diwan-i Am*; *Chaharsuffa*; 'Kitchen' near *Shabistan-i Iqbal.*

FS 105: *Diwan-i Am*; Courtyard of the *daulatkhana-i Anuptalao*; *Jami'* Mosque.

FS 54: *Diwan-i Am*; Emperor's Seat.

FS 66: *Diwan-i Am*; *Daftarkhana*

FS 67: *Diwan-i Am*; *Daftarkhana*

TABLE I (Continued)

FS 145: *Diwan-i Am*; *Daftarkhana*

FS 77: *Diwan-i Am*; Platform between Astrologer's Seat and 'Treasury'

FS 78: *Diwan-i Am*; Cloisters linking *hujra-i Anuptalao* with the *Khwabgah.*

FS 79: *Diwan- i Am*; *Abdarkhana*

FS 99: *Diwan-i Am*; *Jami'* Mosque

FS 144: *Diwan-i Am*; 'Kitchen' in front of *Shabistan-i Iqbal*

FS 147: *Djwan-i Am*; Cloisters below *Chaharsuffa.*

FS 186: *Diwan-i Am*; Cloisters be1ow *Khwabgah.*

FS 21: Emperor' s Seat; Cloisters adjoining 'Treasury'; *Chaharkhana*; Portico to the East of *Chaharkhana*; Astrologer's Seat; *Abdarkhana*; *Daftarkhana*; Mosque; *Samosa Mahal*; *Tehra Muhri.*

FS 46: Cloister adjoining 'Treasury'; Cloisters to the North of *Chaharkhana*; *Abdarkhana*; *Shabistan-i Iqbal*

FS 50: Courtyard of the *daulatkhana-i Anuptalao*; *Chaharsuffa*; *Jami'* Mosque; Gallery near *Hauz-i Shireen.*

FS 51: *Daftarkhana*; *Jami'* Mosque; Gallery to the South- East of *Hathipo*l; Gallery near *Hauz-i Shireen.*

FS 121: Emperor's Seat; Courtyard before *Chaharkhana*; Platform between Astrologer's Seat and 'Treasury'; *Abdarkhana.*

FS 4: *Abdarkhana*; Cloisters to the North of *Shabistan-i Iqbal*; 'Kitchen' near *Shabistan-i Iqbal.*

FS 23: Emperor's Seat; *Shabistan-i Iqbal*; *Daftarkhana*; *Samosa Mahal.*

FS 2: *Abdarkhana*; *Daftarkhana.*

FS 6: *Jami'* Mosque; Portico to the East of 'Treasury' and *Chaharkhana.*

FS 35: *Daftarkhana*; *Chaharsuffa.*

FS 36: Courtyard of the *daulatkhana-i Anuptalao*; Cloisters in the Verandah of the *Khwabgah.*

FS 89: Emperor's Seat; Gallery near *Hauz-i Shireen*

FS 95: Cloisters linking the *hujra-i Anuptalao* with *Khwabgah*; *Abdarkhana*

TABLE I (Continued)

FS 108: *Hathipol*; *Jami'* Mosque

FS 120: Emperor's Seat; *Jami'* MosqueFS 151: Cloisters aligned E-W to the South of *Chaharsuffa*; Pavement near the Booking Office;

FS 161: Cloisters, below *Khwabgah*; *Jami'* Mosque

FS 169: Cloisters to the South of *Chaharsuffa*; Courtyard in front of *Chaharkhana*.

TABLE III

MARKS AT FATHPUR SIKRI (FS)

MARKS FOUND ONLY IN ONE STRUCTURE

I. In Jami' Masjid: 5, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 16, 17, 18, 26, 29, 32, 48, 49,
55, 58, 70, 84, 98, 101 103, 104, 106, 119, 122,
123, 124, 125, 126, 132, 162, 163, 164.

II. In Diwan-i Am: 14, 30, 39, 40, 53, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 68, 81, 82, 85,
86, 87, 88, 92, 93,115, 137, 138, 140, 141, 142,
146, 148, 190, 191.

III. In *Abdarkhana*: 3, 15, 44, 72, 83, 94, 129, 130, 136.

IV. In *Chaharsuffa*: 10, 102, 185

V. In *Daftar Khana*: 24, 25, 90, 166, 167, 168

VI. In *Samosa Mahal*: 31, 188, 189

VII. In *Shabistan-i Iqbal*: 22 57, 74, 75

VIII. In *Chaharkhana*: 117, 131

IX. In *Khwabgah*: 27, 37, 60, 69, 107

X. On Cloisters to the South of *Chaharsuffa*: 19, 73, 173, 174

XI. On Cloisters to the South of 'Treasury' and *Chaharkhana*: 116

XII. On Cloisters to the west of *hujra-i Anuptalao*: 100

XIII. On Cloisters to the North of *Shabistan-i iqbal*: 113

XIV. On Cloisters below the *Chaharsuffa*: 149

XV. On Cloisters aligned.E-W to the South of *Chaharsuffa*: 175, 176, 177,
178, 179, 180, 181, 183, 184.

TABLE III (Continued)

XVI. OnCloisters to the West of *Khwabgah*: 150, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160.

XVII. In the Courtyard fronting the *Chaharkhana*: 59, 96, 165.

XVIII. On the Cloisters below the *Khwabgah*: 171, 172

XIX. On Cloister a in the North-East of *Chaharkhana*: 170

XX. In the Courtyard of the *daulatkhana-i Anuptalao* (around the tank):38

XXI. On Northern Verandah of *hujra-i Anuptalao*: 43

XXII. On Astrologer's Seat: 47

XXIII. In the Gallery near *Hauz-i Shireen*: 97, 114, 133

XXIV. On Emperor's Seat: 128

XXV. On *Hathipol*: 135

XXVI. In Kitchen near *Shabistan-i Iqbal*: 118, 187

XXVII. *Yatishkhana-i darogha-i Sarai*: 127

TABLE IV

SIGNATURES AT FATHPUR SIKRI [FS(s)]

I. *Jami' Masjid*:

(a) Courtyard near *Badshahi* Gate: 3, 4, 22, .23, 24, 30, 31, 32, 36, 77, 88, 89, 90, 123, 127.

(b) Middle Portion of the Courtyard: 1, 2, 4, 5, 6,7, 8, 33, 34,75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 94, 132, 133, 134, 135.

(c) South of the Water Tank: 37

(d) Gallery to the West of *Buland Darwaza*: 71, 72, 96, 115, 121, 129, 136.

(e) Courtyard in front of the Sanctuary: 93, 97, 98.

(f) Sanctuary of the Mosque:

(i) South: 10.

TABLE IV (Continued)

(ii) North: 11, 139

II. *Diwan—Am*: 9, 15, 18, 19, 21, 27, 35, 41, 45, 54,

57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 66, 67, 68, 69, 74, 95, 99, 100, 102, 107, 108, 109, 111, 112, 113, 114, 117, 118, 122, 124, 138.

III. Emperor's Seats:

(a) The Chamber Niches: 46, 48, 49, 50, 126

(b) Door leading to the balcony: 70, 125

(c) Door leading to the Courtyard towards *Daulatkhana*: 117

(d) The Verandah:

(i) Right niche: 117

(ii) Pillar: 117

IV. The Courtyard before *Chaharkhana*: 51

V. Courtyard towards *Anup Talao*: 18, 40

VI. Cloisters around Courtyard of the *Daulatkhana*:

(a) Cloisters below *Chaharsuffa*: 117

(b) Cloisters adjoining the 'Treasury': 130

(c) Cloistered Gallery North of *Chaharkhana*: 50, 56, 64, 117

(d) Cloistered Gallery to the N-E of *Chaharkhana*: 16, 26, 84, 128

(e) Cloisters below *Khwabgah*: 12,: 13, 119, 120

(f) Cloisters connecting *hujra-i Anuptalao* to *Khwabgah*: 38, 117

(g) Cloisters to the West of *Hujra-i anuptalao*: 47.

VII. Verandah of *hujra-i Anuptalao*: 52

VIII. *Khwabgah*:

(a) Exterior: 28, 5.3, 11

(b) Interior: 55,117 .

(c) Cloistered Verandah (E): 15, 18, 28, 117

IX. *Abdarkhana*:

TABLE IV (Continued)

	(a) Ground Floor:	
	(i) Pillars:	25, 50, 131.
	(ii) Pillar Brackets:	63
	(iii) Ceilings:	62
	(b) Top Floor:	
	(i) Pillars:	73
	(ii) Ceilings:	74 99, 101
X.	*Chaharkhana*:	
	(a) Western door:	103
	(b) Northern door:	9, 20
XI.	Portico to the East of *Chaharkhana*:	17, 117.
XII.	Floor of the Astrologer's Seat:	16, 117
XIII.	Platform between the Astrologer's Seat and 'Treasury':	16, 117.
XIV.	*Chaharsuffa*:	
	(a) Ground Floor:	14, 83, 105
	(b) First Floor:	117.
	(c) Second Floor:	29.
XV.	*Shabistan-i Iqbal*:	
	(a) Hall in the West:	127
	(b) Six Pillared Cloisters North of Gate:	85, 86, 87, 117, 141.
XVI.	*Daftarkhana*:	
	(a) Main Building Pillars:	42, 43, 104
	(b) Cloisters to its west:	44, 65, 68, 74, 99, 109, 110, 116, 140.
XVII.	*Samosa Mahal*:	50, 91, 9 130, 133
XVIII.	Gallery near *Hauz-i Shireen*:	68, 106, 144
XIX.	*Hathipol*:	142, 143
XX.	Agra Gate:	137
XXI.	*Tehra Muhri*:	21, 117

TABLE V

SIGNATURES AT FATHPUR SIKRI [FS (S)]

REPITITION OF SIGNATURES

FS(s) 117:	Diwan-i Am; Emperor's Seat; Cloisters below *Chaharsuffa*; *Chaharsuffa* ; *Khwabgah*; Cloistered Verandah of *Khwabgah*; Cloisters connecting *hujra-i Anuptalao* with *Khwabgah*; Cloisters to the North of *Chaharkhana*; Portico to the East of Diwan-i Khas; Astrologer's Seat;*Shabistan-i Iqbal*; *Tehra Muhri*.
FS(s) 68:	*Diwan-i Am*; Platform between Astrologer's Seat and 'Treasury'; *Daftarkhana*; Gallery near *Hauz-i Shireen*.
FS(s) 18:	*Diwan-i Am*; Cloistered Verandah of *Khawabgah*; Courtyard near *Anup Talao*.
FS(s) 15:	*Diwan-i Am*; Cloistered Verandah of *Khwabgah*.
FS(s) 50:	Emperor' Seat; Cloisters to the north of *Chaharkhana*; *Abdarkhana*; *Samosa Mahal*.
FS(s) 9:	*Diwan-i Am*; *Daftarkhana*
FS(s) 109:	*Diwan-i Am*; *Daftarkhana*
FS(s) 74:	*Diwan-i Am*; *Abdarkhana*; *Daftarkhana*
FS(s) 99:	*Diwan-i Am*; *Abdarkhana*; *Daftarkhana*
FS(s) 28:	*Khwabgah*; Cloistered Verandah of *Khwabgah*.
FS(s) 130:	Cloisters adjoining Treasury; *Samosa Mahal*.
FS(s) 133:	*Jami'* Mosque; *Samosa Mahal*
FS(s) 127:	*Jami'* Mosque;*Shabistan-i Iqbal*.

TABLE VI

MARKS AT TAJ MAHAL (T)

PLACEMENT

I. On Panels of the Main Gate: 41, 42, 47, 63, 65, 80, 81

II. Pillars of the Gallery to the East of this Gate: 44, 15, 66, 163, 182

III. Pillars of the Gallery to the West of this Gate: 80, 84, 100, 185

IV. On the Walls running from Museum to the Mosque:21 22, 25, 29, 30, 61, 80, 93, 94, 99, 110, 133, 146, 150, 154, 166, 167, 180, 193, 195, 196.

V. *Dakhani Darwaza*: 157

VI. Platform fronting the Main Gate: 2, 3, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 14, 17, 22, 41, 49, 51, 52, 53, 59, 61, 80, 82, 84, 92, 98, 99, 108, 109, 110, 119, 133, 139, 147, 163, 165, 166, 167, 170,172, 173, 174.

VII. Platform fronting the Gallery to the East of the Main Gate: 2, 15, .41, 42, 60, 84, 98, 100, 109, 110, 119, 120, 133, 141, 147, 168, 169, 176, 177, 178 179, 180, 182.

VIII. Platform fronting the Gallery to the West of the Main Gate: 12, 13, 15, 41, 48, 49, 50, 59, 61, 62, 80, 82, 99, 106, 110, 111, 113, 114, 119, 121, 133, 137, 149, 152, 156, 158, 159, 160, 161, 166, 167, 168.

IX. Courtyard before the *Mehmankhana*: 1, 80, 98, 109, 166, 168, 207

TABLE VI (Continued)

X. Pavements:

(a) Pavement running from the Main Gate to the Mausoleum:	55, 98, 103, 118, 133, 208, 209, 211
(b) Pavement below the Platform fronting the Western Gallery (N):	40, 41, 44, 45, 46, 47, 56, 98, 100, 104, 105, 133, 166, 168
(c) Pavement below the Platform fronting the Eastern Gallery, (N):	21, 66, 67, 68, 74, 80, 83, 84, 88, 90, 91, 98, 99, 107, 110, 112, 129, 132, 133, 143, 167
(d) Pavement running from the South-Western Corner to Museum:	2, 16, 19, 20, 31, 41, 69, 70, 72, 76, 78, 79, 84, 98, 110, 117, 119, 123, 131, 134, 135, 138, 142, 151, 162, 179, 186, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192.
(e) Pavement around the Museum:	27, 43, 45, 51, 58, 85, 86, 93 97, 98, 119, 133, 135, 143, 166, 167.
(f) Pavements running from Museum to Central Tank:	41, 100
(g) Pavement between the Museum and the Mosque:	3, 28, 32, 33, 35, 36, 41, 57, 66, 97, 98, 99, 100, 102, 110, 116, 122, 124, 125, 126, 127, 133, 136, 140, 143, 166, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203.

TABLE VI (Continued)

(h) Pavement from the South-Eastern Corner to *Mehmankhana*:	4, 5, 6, 18, 38, 39, 40, 52, 65, 71, 73, 77, 84, 87, 89, 93, 94, 95, 96, 98, 100, 115, 128, 130, 132, 133, 144, 145, 153, 170, 205, 206.

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TABLE VII

SIGNATURES AT TAJ MAHAL [T(S)]

PLACEMENT

I.	On Panels of the Main Gate:	8, 18, 30, 42
II.	Pillars of the Gallery to the East of the Main Gates:	3, 16, 30, 32
III.	Pillars of the Gallery to the West of the Main Gate:	11, 19, 29, 36
IV.	Wall running from Museum to the Mosque:	25, 45
V	DakhaniDarwaza	12
VI.	Platform fronting the Main Gate:	13, 21, 22, 27, 28, 34, 37, 43
VII.	Platform Fronting the Gallery to the East of the Main Gate:	4, 23, 24
VIII.	Platform fronting the Gallery to the West of the Main Gate:	10, 14, 35, 48
IX.	Courtyard before the *Mehmankhana*:	9, 17, 51, 53
X.	Pavements:	
	(a) Pavement below the Western Gallery (N):	2, 5, 15, 46, 49, 51
	(b) Pavement below the Eastern Gallery (N):	1, 50, 52

TABLE VII (Continued)

(c) Platform running from the South-Western Corner to the Museum:	47, 54, 55, 56
(d) Pavement running from the Museum to the Central Tank:	33, 39
(e) Pavement between the Museum and the Mosque:	6, 26, 38, 40, 41
(f) Pavement from the South-Eastern Corner to the *Mehmankhana*:	20

TABLE VIII
MARKS AT *I'TIMAD UD DAULAH* (ID)
PLACEMENT

I.	On the door leading to the Cenotaph Chamber (S):	6
II.	Pavilion Building on the West:	
	(a) Plinth Slabs:	75
	(b) Steps:	37
	(c) Floor of Central Room:	28, 36
	(d) Walls:	35, 73
III.	Platform around the Mausoleum:	1, 5, 7, 10, 12, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22, 24, 25, 28, 38, 39, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 74, 75, 76, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83

TABLE VIII (Continued)

IV.	Pavements around this Platform: 16,	1, 2, 3, 4, 9, 11, 12 13, 14, 21, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 41, 42, 50, 71, 72, 78, 85, 86, 87.
V.	Pavement going to the West from the mausoleum:	4, 40, 71.
VI.	Pavements in the Front (E):	16, 26, 27, 28, 34
VII.	Pavements going towards the North:	5, 28

TABLE IX

SIGNATURES AT *I'TIMAD UD DAULAH* [ID(S)]

PLACEMENT

I.	Pavilion Building on the West:	
	(a) Plinth slabs:	13
	(b)Steps:	31, 38
	(c) Floor of Central Room:	34
	(d) Walls:	35
II.	Platform around the Mausoleum:	3, 4, 5, 20, 30, 40, 45, 46, 47, 48
III.	Pavement around this Platform:	1, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 27, 33, 39, 41, 42, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53
IV.	Pavements in the front (E): 34,	2, 15, 16, 26, 28, 29, 32, 34, 37, 43, 44
V.	Pavements going towards the North:	36

TABLE X

MARKS AT AGRA FORT (AF)

(A): PLACEMENT

	Placement	Marks
I.	Jahagiri Mahal:	
	(a) Courtyard Floor:	1
	(b) Niches:	3, 28
II.	Red-stone 0ctagonal Tower between *Jahangiri Mahal* and *Musamman Burj*:	2, 8, 18, 27
III.	*Khas Mahal*:	
	(a) Plinth marble slabs:	4, 10
	(b) Courtyard:	5, 6
IV.	Pavilion to the South of *Khas Mahal*:	
	(a) Floor:	5,19
	(b) Pillar base and brackets:	39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47
	(c) Eaves:	1, 9, 21
V.	Princess Quarter to the North:	29
VI.	*Anguri Bagh* Pavements:	9, 11, 14,19, 20, 22, 23, 24, 30, 31.
VII.	Musamman (Saman) Burj (door sills):	48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53.
VIII.	C1oistered Gallery to the West of *Diwan-i khas*:	15, 21, 37
IX.	Gate leading to the Courtyard below *Diwan-i khas*:	7, 12, 13, 14, 17, 26, 32, 35, 38
X.	*Diwan-i Am*:	16, 21.
XI.	Pavement to the South of *Diwan-i Am*:	34
XII.	Gate to the South of *Diwan-i Am*:	33, 36
XIII.	Gate to the North of *Diwan-i. Am* (towards *Meena Bazar*):	25

TABLE X (Continued)

XIV. Passage leading to Delhi Gate: 9, 22

(B): REPITITION OF MARKS & SIGNATURES

AF(s) 22: *Anguri Bagh*; Princess' Quarters

AF(s) 1: *Jahangiri Mahal*; Eaves of Pavilion to the South of *Khas Mahal.*

AF(s) 9: Eaves of the Pavilion to the South of *Khas Mahal*, *Anguri Bagh*, Delhi Gate.

AF(s) 21: Eaves of the pavilion to the south of *Khas Mahal*; *Diwan-i Am*; Cloistered Gallery to the West of *Diwan-i Khas*.

AF(s) 19: Pavilion to the South of *Khas Mahal*; *Anguri Bagh*.

AF(s) 22: Delhi Gate; *Anguri Bagh*.

AF(s) 14: Gate leading to the Courtyard below *Diwan-i Khas*; *Anguri Bagh*.

TABLE XI

MARKS & SIGNATURES AT ARAM BAGH

[AB/AB(s)][1300]

I. South Western Pavilion:

(a) Marks: 19 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 10, 11, 13, 16, 2 25, 35 36, 37.

(b) Signatures: 8, 11, 13, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22.

II. Various Platforms in the Garden:

(a) Marks: 19 16, 31, 33

(b) Signatures: -

[1300] The other marks and signatures are on the numerous pavement slabs.

TABLE XII
INDEX OF MARKS AND SIGNATURES APPEARING TOGETHER ON INDIVIDUAL SLABS

(A). Fathpur Sikri

S.No.	Mark/Signature	Mark/Signature	Place
1	FS 1	FS(s) 28 FS(s) 29	*Khwabgah* *Chaharsuffa*
2	FS 124 FS 125	FS(s) 96	*Jami' Masjid*
3	FS 139	FS(s) 126	Emperor's Seat
4	FS(s) 48	FS(s) 49	Emperor's Seat
5	FS(s) 117	FS(s) 121	Emperor's Seat
6	FS 149	FS 147	Cloisters just below *Chaharsuffa*
7	FS 36	FS(s) 15	Cloistered verandah of *Khwabgah*
8	FS 33	FS(s) 53	*Khwabgah*
9	FS 29	FS(s) 32	*Jami' Masjid*
10	FS 57	FS 22	*Shabist-i Iqbal*
11	FS 49	FS(s) 6	*Jami' Masjid*
12	FS 143, FS 84	FS(s) 82	*Jami' Masjid*[1301]
13	FS 8	FS(s) 98	*Jami' Masjid*
14	FS 5	FS 13	*Jami' Masjid*
15	FS 80	FS 136	*Abdarkhana*
16	FS 36	FS(s) 18	*Sahn-i daulatkhana-i Anuptalao*
17	FS 56	FS(s) 105	*Chaharsuffa*

[1301] All the three, i.e., the two marks and one signature are on a single slab.

TABLE XII(Continued)

(B) Taj Mahal

S.No.	Mark/Signature	Mark/signature	Place
1	T 100	T 84 T(s) 15 T(s) 26 T(s) 38 T(s) 39 T(s) 40	Pavement -ditto- -ditto- -ditto- -ditto- -ditto-
2	T 166	T 133 T 167 T(s) 25, T 133, T 167 T 61, T 193 T 21, T 30, T 146	Pavement Wall -ditto- -ditto- -ditto-
3	T 80	T 62 T(s) 25, T 133, T 166 T 166, T 133 T 166	Pavements Walls -ditto- -ditto-
4	T 84	T 99 T 100 T 44 T 80, T 54	Pavements -ditto- Gallery West of the Gate -ditto-
5	T 167	T 62 T(s) 25, T 133, T 166 T 133, T 166 T 166	Pavements Walls -ditto- -ditto-
6	T 163	T 147 T 66	Pavements Gallery East of the Gate
7	T(s) 30	T 66 T 80	Gallery East of the Gate Main Gate
8	T 44	T(s) 3, T(s) 32 T 84	Gallery East of the Gate Gallery West of the Gate
9	T 66	T 163 T(s) 30	Gallery East of Gate -ditto-
10	T 32	T 98 T 41	Pavements
11	T(s) 38	T 100 T 133	Pavements

TABLE XII(Continued)

(C) I'timad ud Daulah

S.No.	Mark/Signature	Mark/Signature	Place
1	ID 28	ID(s) 1 ID(s) 36 ID 44	Pavements
2	ID(s) 40	ID 23 ID(s) 46	Pavements
3	ID(s) 30	ID 12	Pavements
4	ID 45	ID 46	Pavements
5	ID 80	ID 81	Pavements
6	ID(s) 49	ID 1	Pavements
7	ID 85	ID 21	Pavements
8	ID(s) 52	ID(s) 11	Pavements
9	ID 27	ID 42	Pavements
10	ID(s) 19	ID 9	Pavements
11	ID(s) 3	ID 34	Pavements

(D) Agra Fort

S.No.	Mark/Signature	Mark/Signature	Place
1	AF 3	AF 28 AF(s) 14	*Jahangiri Mahal* *Diwan-i am*
2	AF(s) 29	AF 29	Princess'Quarters (N)
3	AF(s) 30	AF 21	*Diwan-i Am*
4	AF(s) 10	AF 38	Gate leading to the Courtyard below *Diwan-i Am*
5	AF(s) 1	AF 36	Gate leading to the *Diwan-i Am*

TABLE XII(Continued)

(E) Sikandara

S.No.	Mark/Signature	Mark/Signature	Place
1	S 22	S(s) 22 S(s) 22, S(s) 56, S(s) 23 S(s) 22	Pavements
2	S 33	S(s) 34 S 75	Pavements
3	S 6	S(s) 11 S(s) 40 [Two] S 4	Pavements
4	S(s) 80	S(s) 81 [Many] S(s) 89	Pavements
5	S(s) 43	S(s) 60 S 67	Pavements
6	S(s) 15	S(s) 78 S(s) 57	Pavements
7	S 4	S(s) 39 S(s) 40 S 6	Pavements
8	S(s) 74	S 1	Pavements
9	S(s) 63	S(s) 62	Pavements
10	S(s) 75	S 23	Pavements
11	S(s) 21	S 7	Pavements
12	S(s) 32	S 19	Pavements
13	S(s) 52	S 26 [Numerous]	Pavements

TABLE XII(Continued)

(F) Aram Bagh

S.No.	Marks/Signatures	Marks/Signatures	Place
1	AB 3	AB(s) 20, AB 11, AB 25 AB 11, AB 25 AB(s) 4 [Four]	S.W Pavilion -ditto- Pavements
2	AB 13	AB(s) 19 AB(s) 16	S.W.Pavilion Pavement
3	AB(s) 25	AB 12 AB(s) 24	Pavements
4	AB 30	AB(s) 12 AB 29	Pavements
5	AB(s) 8	AB 4	S.W.Pavilion
6	AB(s) 13	AB 10, AB 1	S.W.Pavilion
7	AB(s) 15	AB 19	Pavements
8	AB 42	AB 31	Pavements
9	AB 28	AB 23	Pavements
10	AB(s) 9	AB 21	Pavements

TABLE XIII

S.No.	Mark/Signature	Mark/Signature	Place
1	FS 33	FS(s) 117, FS 61 FS 67 FS(S) 99 FS(s) 18, FS(s) 117 FS(s) 21 FS 40 FS 52 FS 54 FS 109 FS(s) 56	*Diwan-i Am* *-ditto-* *-ditto-* *-ditto-* *-ditto-* *-ditto-* *-ditto-* *-ditto-* *-ditto-* Cloisters of *Chaharkhana*
2	FS(s) 99	FS 34, FS(s) 15, FS 62 FS 85, FS 64, FS 68, FS 115 FS 76, FS 66	*Diwan-i Am* *-ditto-* *-ditto-*

		FS 29, FS(s) 100 FS 1, FS(s) 9 FS 63 FS 33 FS 28 FS 56 FS(s) 116, FS 67	*-ditto-* *-ditto-* *-ditto-* *-ditto-* *-ditto-* *-ditto-* *Daftarkhana*
3	FS 28	FS 45 FS(s) 108 FS(s) 66 FS(s) 99 FS 139 FS 41	*Diwan-i Am* *-ditto-* *-ditto-* *-ditto-* Portico E. of *'Treasury'* *Daftarkhana*
4	FS 34	FS(s) 59 FS(s) 99, FS(s) 15, FS 62 FS(s) 21, FS 33 FS(s) 16, FS(s) 26 FS(s) 86, FS 4	*Diwan-i Am* *-ditto-* *-ditto-* Cloisters N. of *Chaharkhana* Gallery N.of *Shabistan-i Iqbal*
5	FS 45	FS 109 FS(s) 113 FS(s) 108 FS 110 FS 28 FS 21	*Diwan-i Am* *-ditto-* *-ditto-* *-ditto-* *-ditto-* Portico E. of *Chaharkhana*
6	FS 54	FS(s) 122, FS 80 FS 53 FS 33 FS 109	*Diwan-i Am* *-ditto-* *-ditto-* *-ditto-*
7	FS(s) 116	FS 1, FS(s) 9 FS(s) 9 FS(s) 99, FS 67	*-ditto-* *-ditto-* *Daftarkhana*

		FS 1	*-ditto-*
8	FS(s) 117	FS 61, FS 33 FS(s) 118 FS(s) 18, FS 33 FS 74, FS 81	*Diwan-i Am* *-ditto-* *-ditto-* *-ditto-*
9	FS 141	FS 186 FS 191 FS 144	*-ditto-* *-ditto-* *-ditto-*
10	FS 109	FS 45 FS 54 FS(s) 111 FS 33	*-ditto-* *-ditto-* *-ditto-* *-ditto-*
11	FS(s) 9	FS(s) 99, FS 1 FS(s) 116 FS 41	*-ditto-* *-ditto-* *Daftarkhana*
12	FS 76	FS(s) 99, FS 66 FS 190, FS 146 FS(s) 74	*Diwan-i Am* *-ditto-* *Daftarkhana*
13	FS 56	FS(s) 99 FS 66 FS(s) 105	*Diwan-i Am* *Daftarkhana* *Chaharsuffa*
14	FS 41	FS 28 FS(s) 9	*Daftarkhana*
15	FS 66	FS 76, FS(s) 99 FS 56	*Diwan-i Am* *Daftarkhana*
16	FS 147	FS 143, FS 190 FS 139, FS 142	*Diwan-i Am* *-ditto-*
17	FS 40	FS 41 FS 33	*-ditto-*
18	FS(s) 108	FS 45 FS 28	*-ditto-*
19	FS 190	FS 147, FS 143 FS 146, FS 76	*-ditto-*

20	FS 1	FS(s) 116	*Daftarkhana*
21	FS 139	FS(s) 61, FS 148	*Diwan-i Am*
22	FS 42	FS 137	*-ditto-*
23	FS 140	FS(s) 27	*-ditto-*
24	FS 99	FS 20	*-ditto-*
25	FS 34	FS(S) 59	*-ditto-*
26	FS(s) 45	FS 77	*-ditto-*
27	FS 86	FS(s) 67	*-ditto-*
28	FS(s) 69	FS 92	*-ditto-*
29	FS 93	FS 105	*-ditto-*
30	FS 28	FS 139	Portico E. of *Chaharkhana*
31	FS(s) 64	FS 116	Cloisters N. of *Chaharkhana*
32	FS(s) 14	FS 111	*Chaharsuffa*
33	FS(s) 141	FS 113	Galleried pavilion N. of *Shabistan-i Iqbal*
34	FS 1	FS(s) 142	*Hathipol*
35	FS 13	FS 155	Gallery to the W. of *Khwabgah*
36	FS 15	FS 156	*-ditto-*
37	FS 16	FS 159	*-ditto-*

TABLE XIV
INDEX TO SIMILAR MARKS IN VARIOUS MONUMENTS

S.No.	FS Fathpur Sikri	Q Qutub	HT Humayun's Tomb	AB Aram Bagh	AF Agra Fort	ID Itimad Ud Daulah	S Sikandra	T Taj Mahal
1	50	5	11	27	10	35	16	100
2	51	8	-	28	9	34	15	99
3	13	-	-	11	27	33	5	52
4	41	-	-	17	-	27	46	168
5	42	-	-	16	31	28	-	166
6	38	-	-	22	14	11	-	84
7	109	-	3	-	5	4	11	42
8	1	1	-	-	19	-	-	109
9	6	4	-	-	33	-	38	133
10	15	-	-	5 (?)	-	-	18	138
11	110	2	-	-	-	-	10	41
12	20	-	-	7	-	-	17	63
13	22	-	-	-	-	83	42	76
14	35	-	-	20	-	10	-	80
15	45	-	-	-	37 (?)	40	48	-
16	47	16	-	-	-	74	8	98
17	56	-	8	-	22	-	-	32
18	58	-	-	-	2	1	12	-
19	137	-	-	-	38	-	52	148
20	27	-	-	18	-	9	-	-
21	36	-	-	-	-	-	23	82
22	61	-	-	-	-	87	-	36
23	106	-	-	-	-	-	36 (?)	74
S.No.	FS	Q	HT	AB	AF	ID	S	T

24	112	-	-	-	7	-	-	40
25	121	-	-	31	-	41	-	-
26	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	114
27	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	115
28	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	113
29	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	134
30	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	129
31	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	110
32	10	-	5 (?)	-	-	-	-	-
33	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	55 (?)
34	14	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
35	28	9	-	-	-	-	-	-
36	39	-	-	-	-	-	-	12
37	40	-	-	-	13	-	-	-
38	46	-	-	-	3	-	-	-
39	24	-	-	-	-	-	-	66
40	65	-	-	-	-	85	-	-
41	19	-	-	8	-	-	-	-
42	66	-	-	-	-	80	-	-
43	69	18	-	-	-	-	-	-
44	71	-	-	-	-	-	30	-
45	76	-	-	-	-	84	-	-
46	78	-	-	-	-	-	-	24
47	84	-	-	-	-	-	-	34
48	105	-	-	-	-	-	-	26
49	119	-	-	-	-	-	-	140
50	143	-	-	-	-	-	-	147
51	169	-	-	34	-	-	-	-
52	182	-	-	37(slimmer)	-	-	-	-
S.No.	**FS**	**Q**	**HT**	**AB**	**AF**	**ID**	**S**	**T**
53	183	-	-	38 (no eye)	-	-	-	-

54	128	-	-	-	-	42	-	-
55	162	-	10	-	-	-	-	-
56	-	-	-	-	21	14	19	119
57	-	-	-	14	24	-	-	49
58	-	-	-	13	23	-	-	51
59	-	3	-	-	29	-	-	137
60	-	-	-	19	-	-	24	83
61	-	-	-	-	32	24	-	165
62	-	-	-	-	-	-	30	14
63	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	15
64	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	23
65	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	38
66	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	53
67	-	-	-	-	25	-	-	50
68	-	-	-	-	-	-	25	102
69	-	-	-	-	-	16	-	121
70	-	-	13	-	-	-	-	136
71	-	-	-	-	-	-	37	93
72	-	-	-	-	-	26	-	169
73	-	-	-	-	35	-	-	204
74	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	22
75	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	64
76	-	-	-	1	-	-	39	-
77	-	-	-	-	-	18	40	-
78	-	-	-	-	15	-	35	-
79	-	-	-	21	-	12	22	-

TABLE XV

IDEX TO SIGNATURES COMMON TO MORE THAN ONE MONUMENT

1.	T(s) 4	=	ID(s) 50 (?)	
2.	T(s) 7	=	S(s) 10	
3.	T(s) 30	=	AF(s) 11	
4.	T(s) 50	=	AF(s) 21	
5.	S(s) 9	=	FS(s) 17	
6.	S(s) 4	=	FS(s) 10 (?)	
7.	S(s) 7	=	FS(s) 18	
8.	S(s) 31	=	FS(s) 96	= S(s) 52 (?)
9.	AB(s) 24	=	AF(s) 18	
10.	S(s) 45 & 46	quite similar to		ID(s) 21 & 22
11.	S(s) 81	quite similar to		FS(s) 125 & 126
12.	ID(s) 11, 12 & 13	quite similar to		FS(s) 53 & 56

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*

FATHPUR SIKRI [MARKS:FS(M)]

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15.

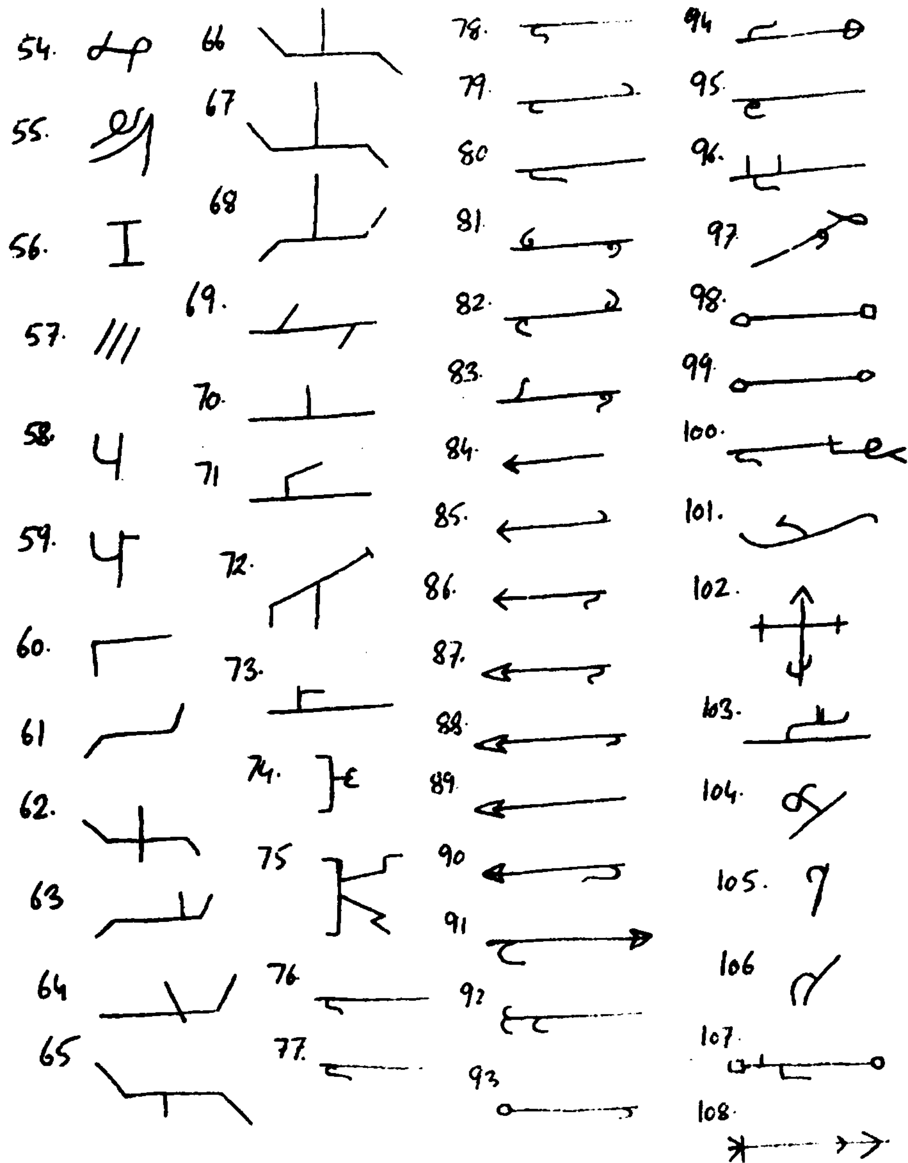
16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27 28. 29. 30. 31

32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37 38. 39 40. 41 42. 43

44 45 46. 47 48 49 50 51 52 53

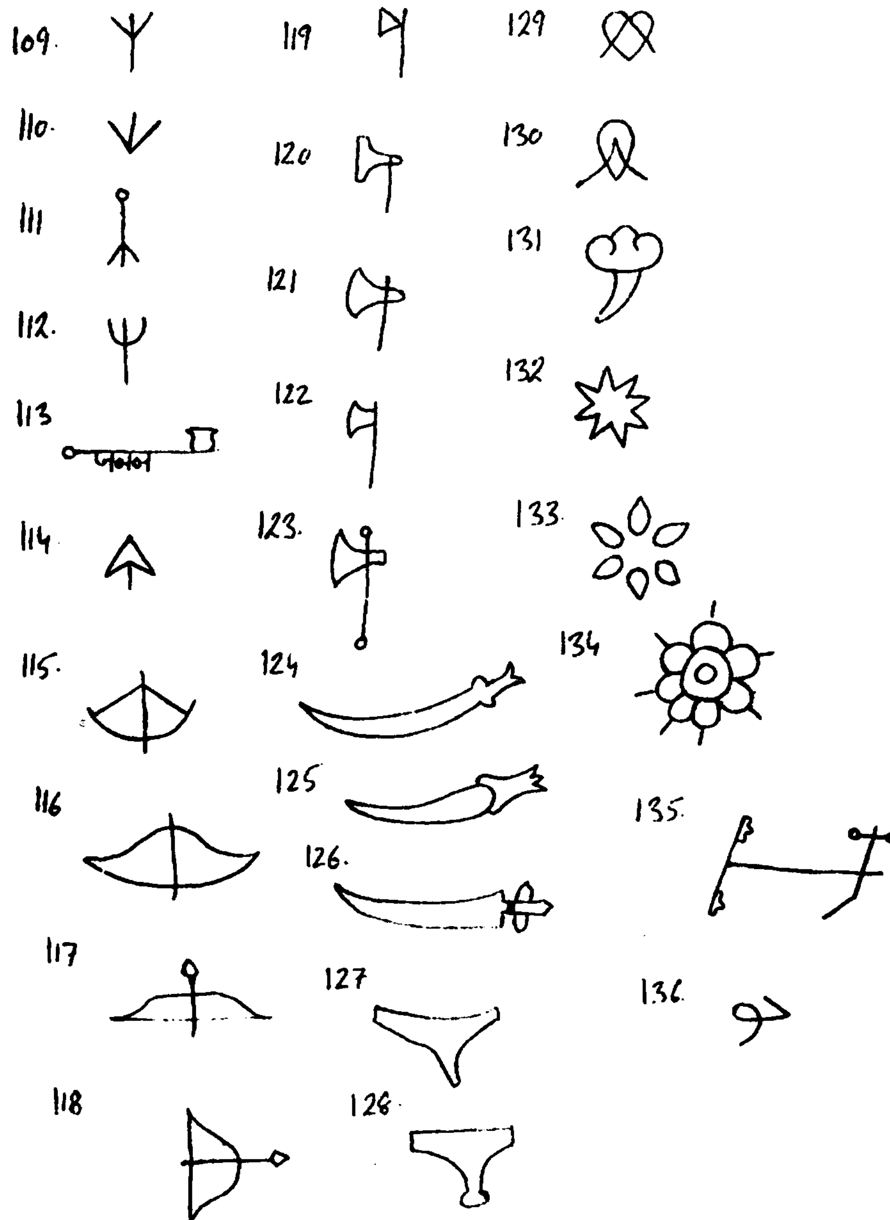
Masons Marks

FS
(CONTINUED)



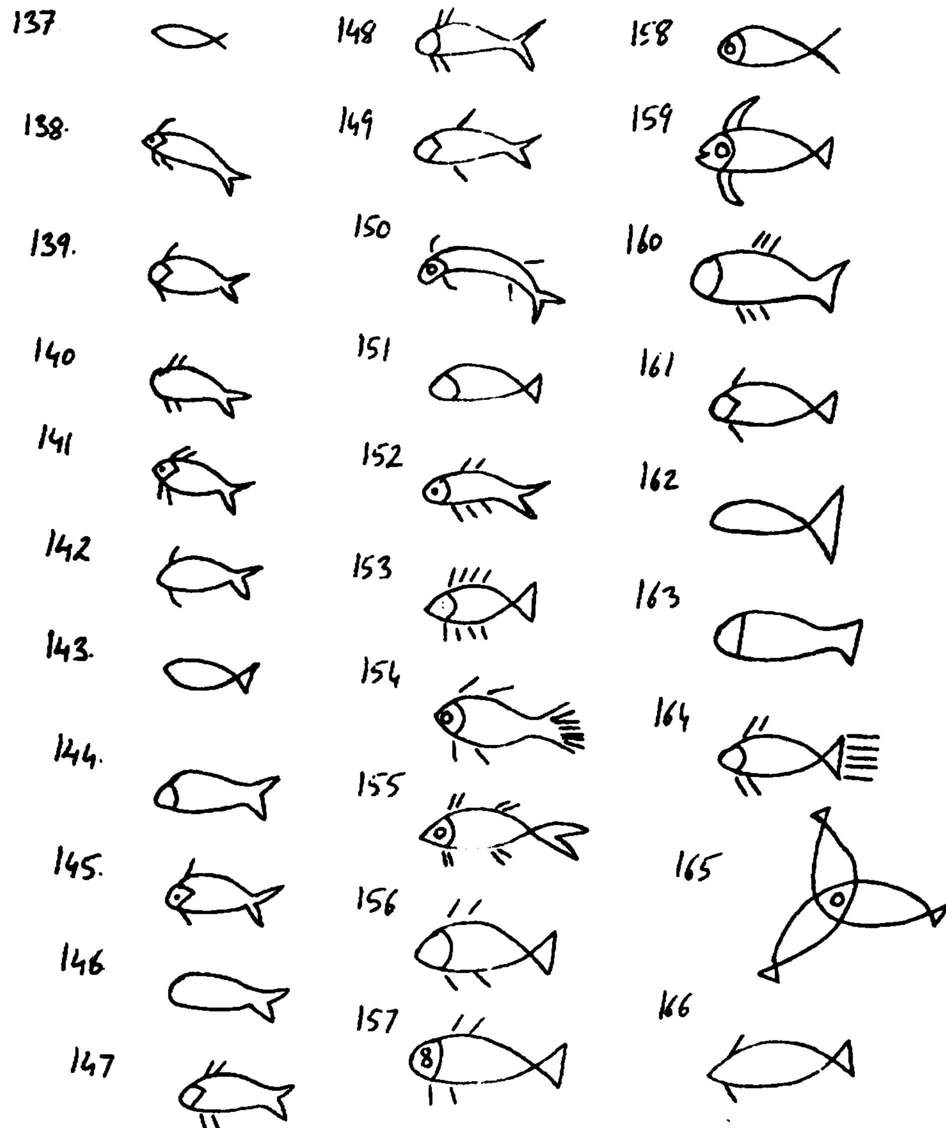
Masons Marks

FS (Continued)



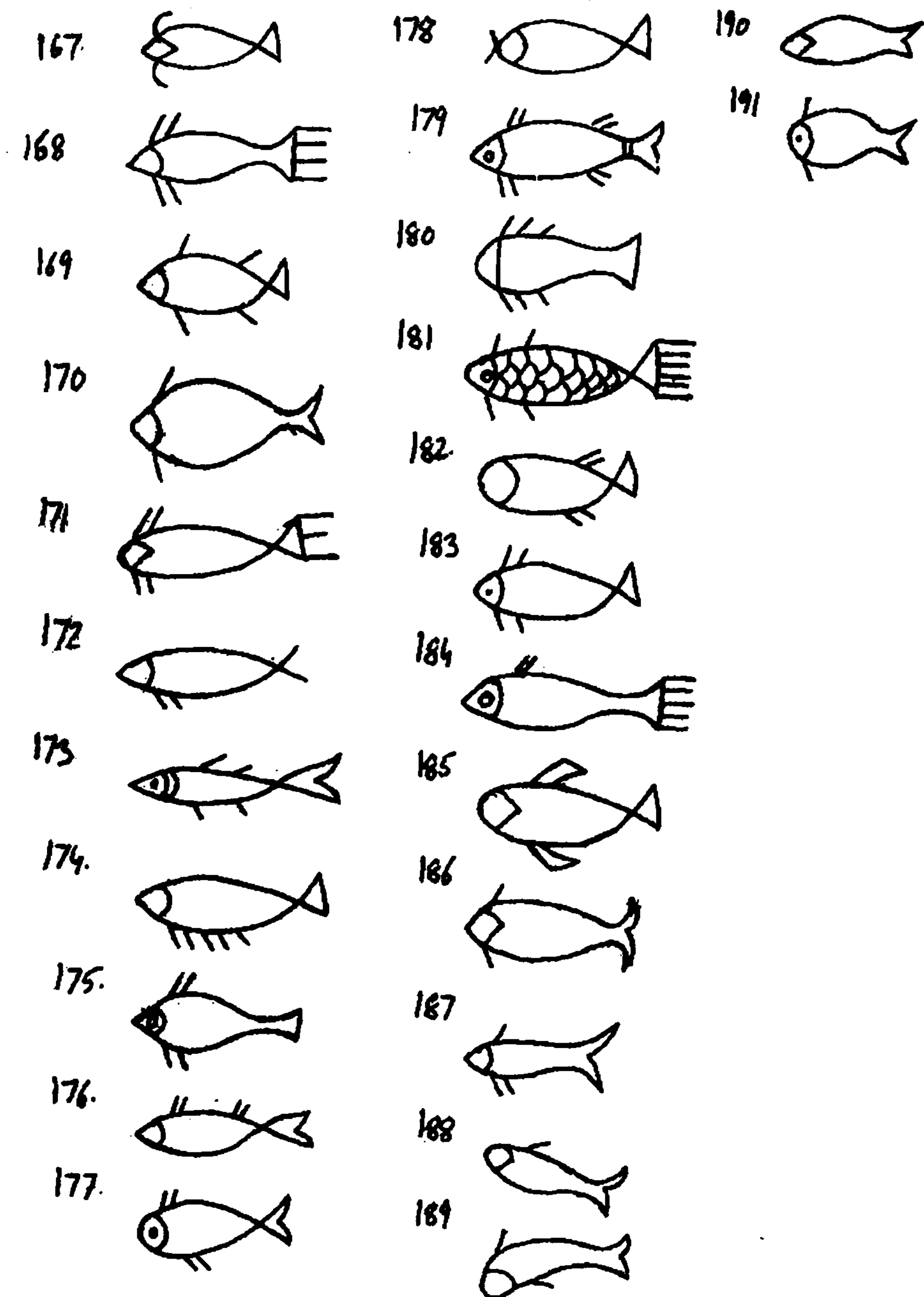
Masons Marks

FS (Continued)



Masons Marks

FS (Continued)



Masons Marks

TAJMAHAL [T]

Masons Marks

[T]

48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58 59. 60.

61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67 68. 69 70. 71. 72. 73 74.

75. 76. 77 78. 79. 80 81 82 83 84 85. 86.

87 88 89 90 91 92. 93. 94. 95 96 97 98

Masons Marks

[T] Continued

99. 100. 101 102 103 104 105 106 107 108

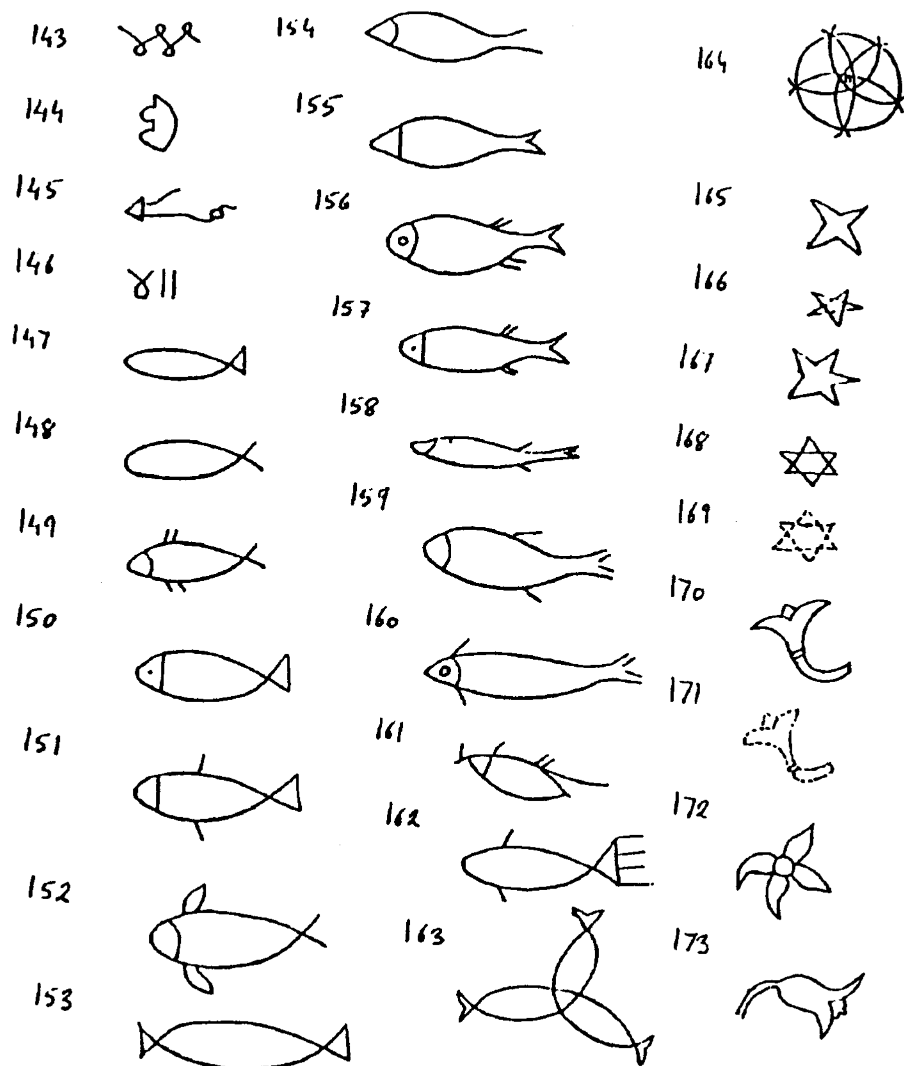
109. 110. 111. 112 113 114 115 116 117 118. 119 120 121

122 123 124 125 126 127 m 128 129 130 131 132

133 134. 135 136 137 138 139 140 141 142

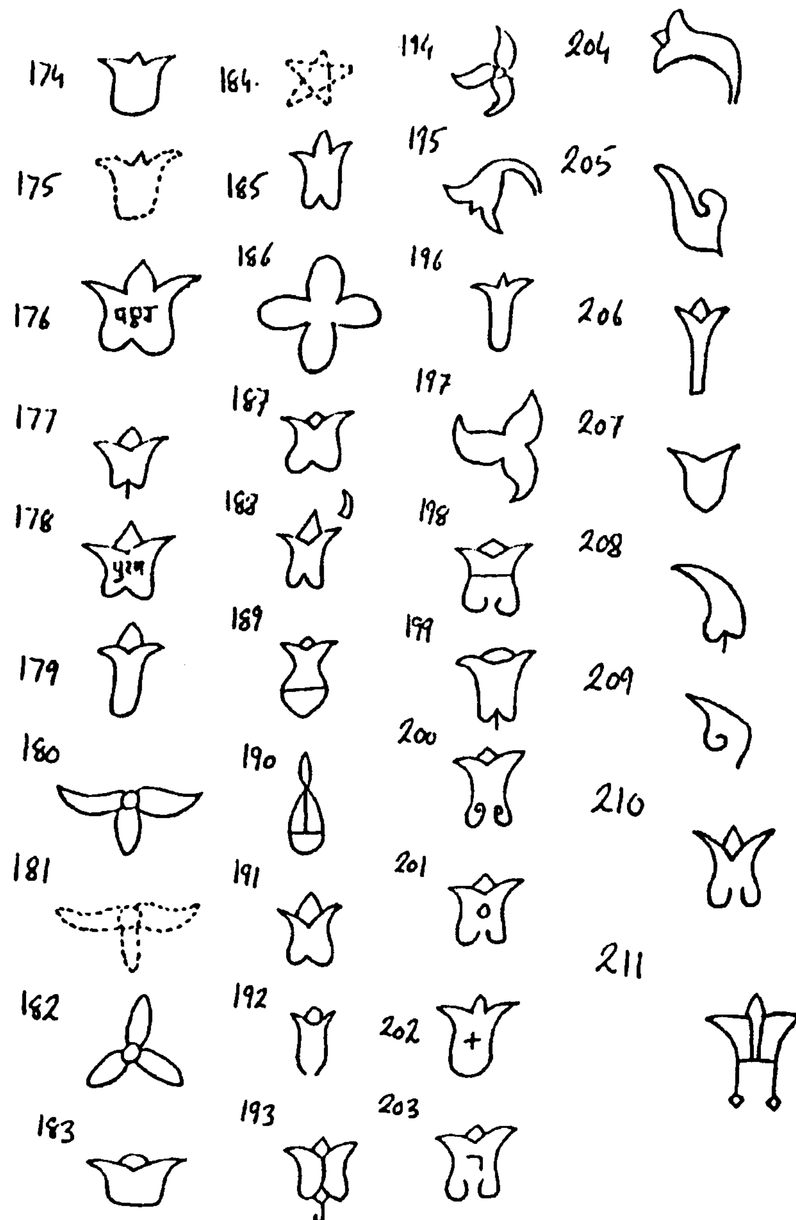
Masons Marks

[T] Continued



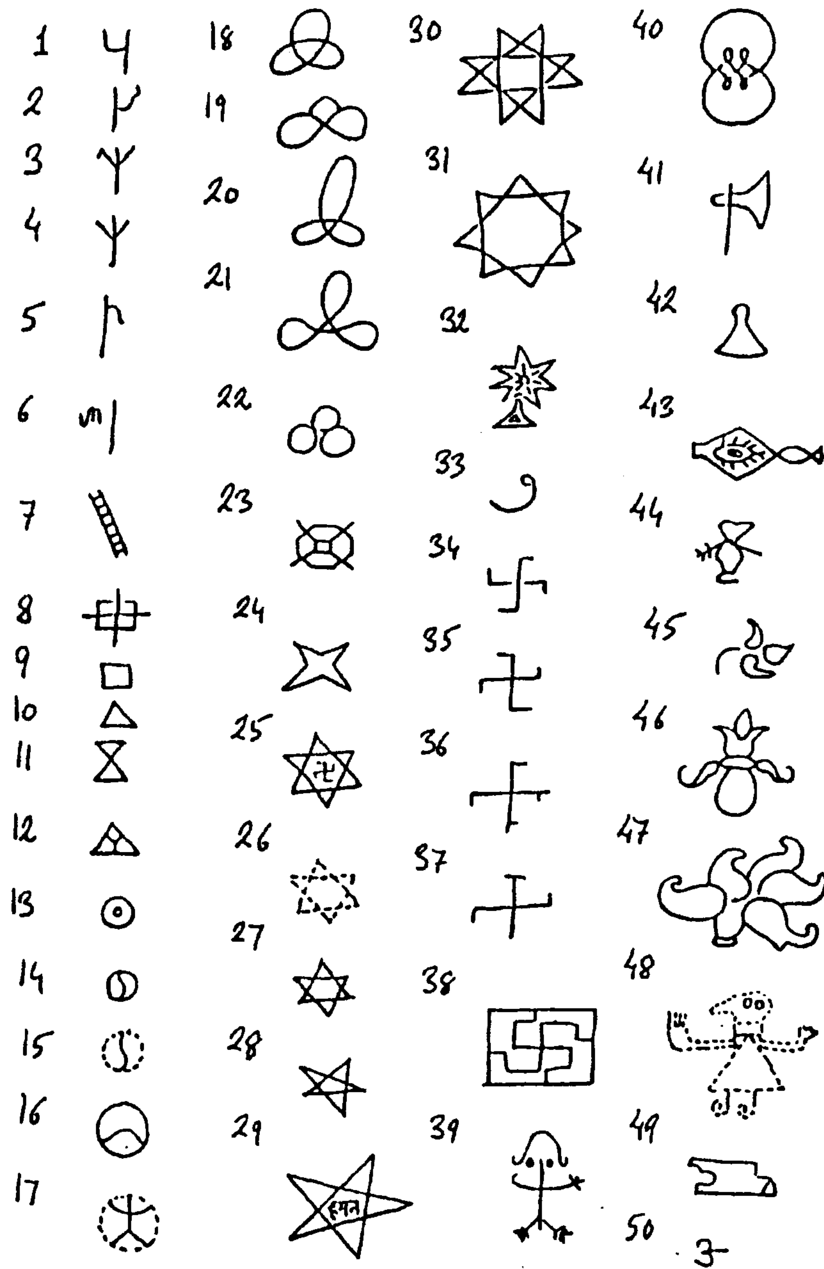
Masons Marks

[T] Continued



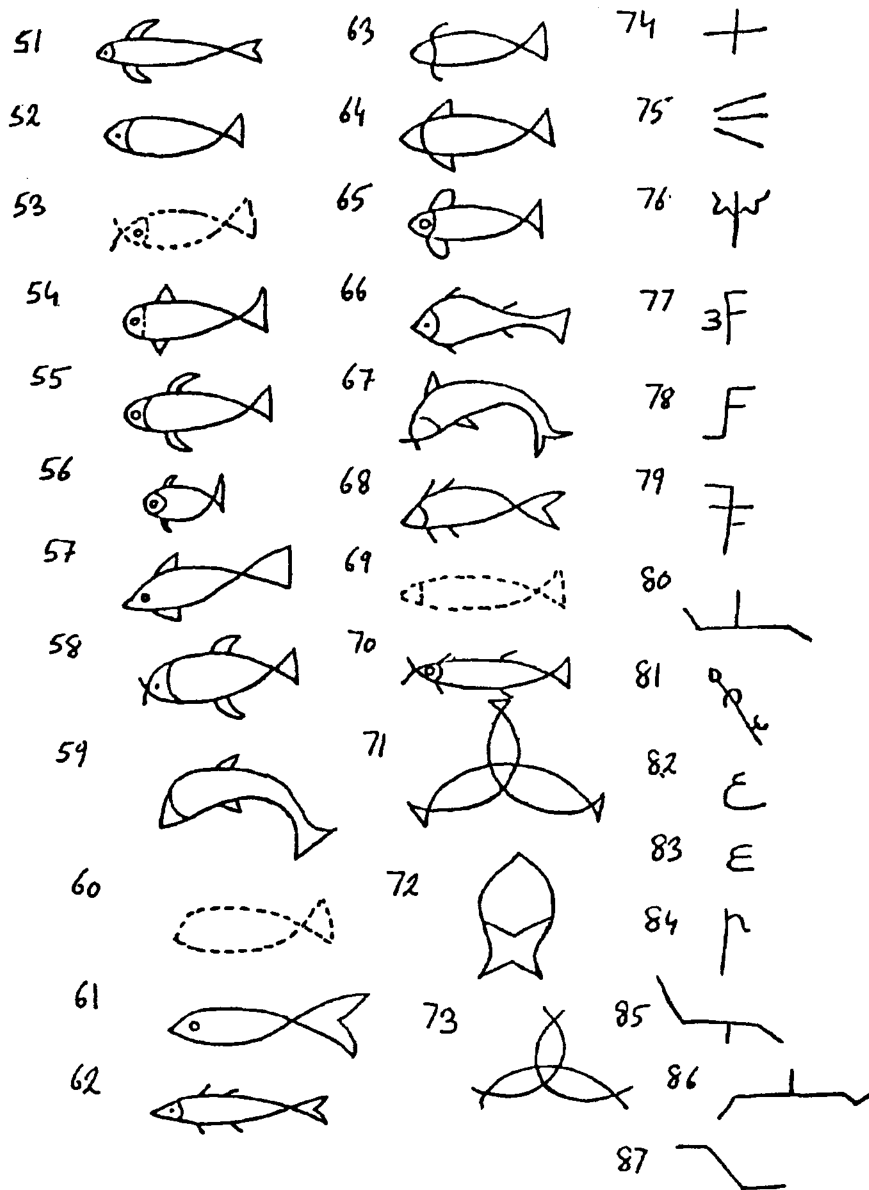
Masons Marks

ITIMAD UD DAULAH
[ID]



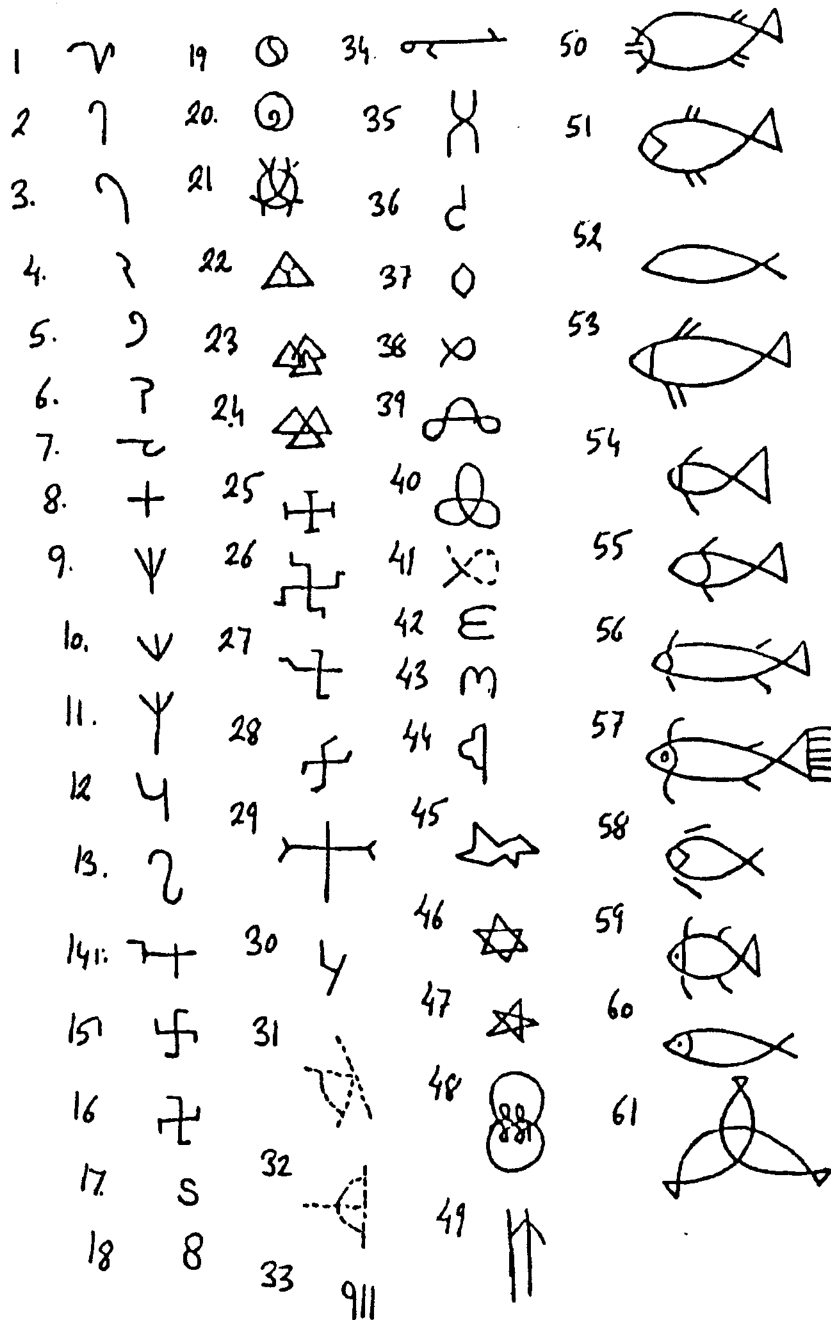
Masons Marks

[ID]Continued



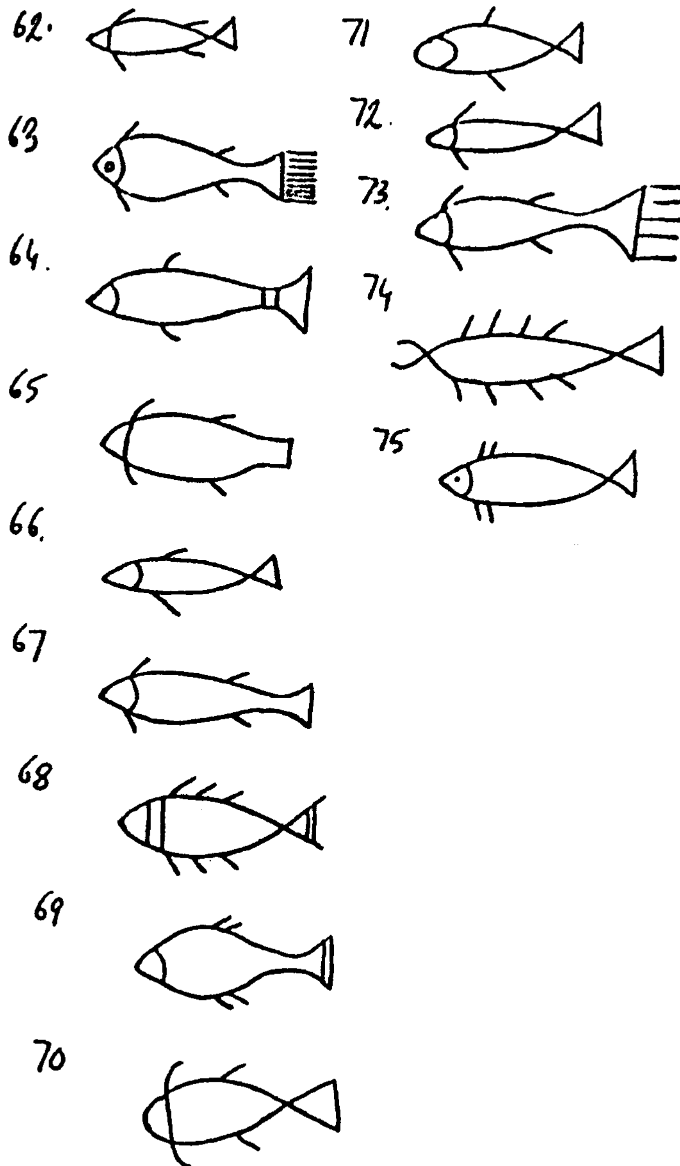
Masons Marks

SIKANDARA [S]



Masons Marks

[S] Continued



Masons Marks

AGRA FORT [AF]

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2.
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52
53

Masons Marks

ARAM BAGH [AB]

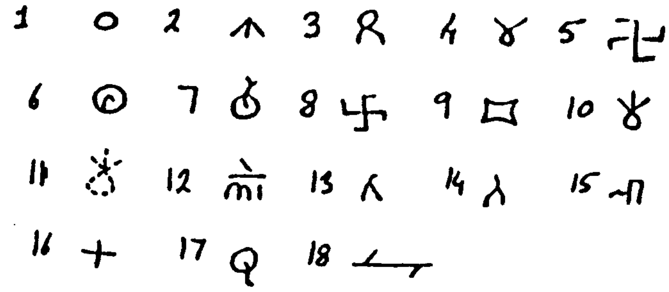
1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16 17.

18 19. 20 21 22. 23. 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32. 33

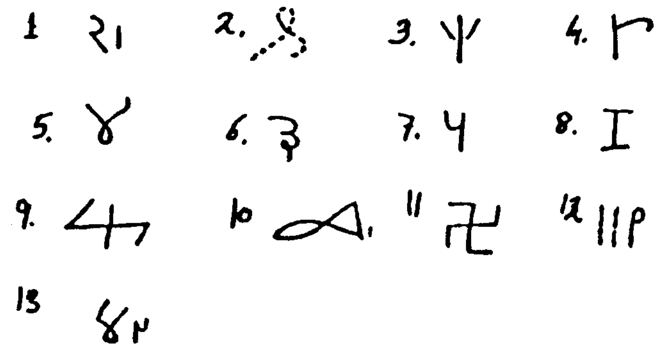
34 35 36. 37 38 39 40 41. 42 43

Masons Marks

QUTB COMPLEX [Q]



HUMAYUN'S TOMB
[HT]



14. सुदरलनमनालाल

Masons Marks

FATHPUR SIKRI SIGNATURES [FS (s)]

1 उमानु
2 उयरानु
3 केलू
4. केसोमल
5 केसोमलु
6. करमु
7 करमसिंह
8. करमचंद
9 कसन
10 कसुम
11 कुमा
12 कतवाड़
13 कुल्वाड़
14 ककरदलल
15 षतगु
16 षरगु
17 षनगु
18 षरागु
19 षही
20 षृगी
21 षुही
22 षमवेद
23 षेमवेर
24 षौमनु
25 षमल
26 र()P
27 गीन
28 गोपालु
29 गोपा
30 गठु
31 गट
32 गढ़
33 गनेशु
34 गनेसु
35 गलवलीपु
36 छीतमु
37 छीतम

FS (S) Continued

38 प्नत्तपु

39 ज॰ावाराम

40 जोगी

41 ठम

42 तेपफगीपकाउासे

43 तसो

44 तठछ

45 नसनु

46 नागनु

47 नामनु

48 नामा

49 नावा

50 नथु

51 नथू

52 नुदरष

53 नरद्नु

54 —रनु

55 फ़ैंगाफ

56 नरईनु

57 पहाΛ

58 पहढ

59 पह

60 पठगी

61 पफरीर

62 पफनीर

63 पहसर

64 पफन

65 पाीर

66 पुही

67 पΛरीर

68 पफनीर

69 पफनी

70 पफनिर

71 पठ

72 पहठार

73 पफगी

74 पफरीर

75 पहरनु

Masons Signatures

FS (s)
Continued

76 पहरथु
77 पैगु
78 पैगुउ
79 पैणु
80 पैगनु
81 पेगु
82 पसारथु
83 पीरहीमु
84 पपनु
85 पषनु
86 पषन
87 पषप
88 फोती
89 फसौ
90 फरामु
91 फफली
92 फफली
93 बालमानकुारम
94 भके
95 मामरपा
96 मघो
97 मनकु
98 मनेकु
99 मीन
100 हीषि
101 हीरि
102 रूस्व
103 रूपारायफरका
104 राढल
105 रूहरामहपाग
106 लषमन
107 वलडठ
108 वेहड
109 वहड
110 वेहठ०
111 वेहड०
112 वीमहव
113 वेहड

Masons Signatures

FS (s) Continued

114. बानहा
115 वोग्
116 हम
117 हमु
118 एउ
119 हना
120 हन
121 हनमह
122 फरामह
123 फरावा
124 नरव
125 हमाहर
126 हमोहन्
127 फमीन्
128 फरीद
129 हायदु
130 फरष
131 फरषु
132 फरषो
133 फरषा
134 हरषा
135 शुसा
136 तीवया
137 …लाल
138 उदीप
139 जिन्दा
140 पफीर
141 जमन
142 नवमषन
143 नरफवरी
144 माब
145 मल

Masons Signatures

TAJ [T(s)]

1 अगद
2 आग्रा
3 उसत्र
4 कवल
5 कतन
6 कलठा
7 षरगा
8 ाऽष
9 षहल
10 गवनयन
11 गरयर
12 गोविद
13 गगा
14 जगनथ
15 जग़ा
16 जणल
17 जीव
18 तविा
19 नवलवक
20 नणता
21 पमचद
22 पहजपा
23 पड़ग
24 पुरण
25 पपाप
26 भमबी
27 मोपता
28 मबप
29 मकदस
30 मघ
31 मघ
32 यणत्र
33 यवना
34 रावरधन
35 रातना
36 रमयर
37 रपतां
38 नेगनी

Masons Signatures

T (s)

39 नाहलइ

40 हावका

41 ोिकाउ

42 गप

43 حلوہ احمد

44 جر...

45 حاکدو

46 کردا

47 کردا

48 کروسا ار

49 کرسہ

50 کردسہ

51 کراسہ

52 کراشہ

53 کروسا

54 سس کردسہ

55 سس کروسمہ

56 سس کروسہ

Masons Signatures

ITIMAD UD DAULAH
[ID(s)]

1 कसी
2 कसा
3 गब़ल
4. गुब़ल
5 गप़ल
6 गेहा
7 गुपसह
8 प्यारमह
9 प्यनमल
10 तोला
11 नरईन
12 ननईन
13 नरतीन
14 पहलप
15 पहलद
16 पठल
17 पत
18 भगवन्
19 भीषा
20 मनुपैबह
21 मघैकै
22 मघैक
23 मघा
24 मघै
25 मठम
26 माहम
27 माहन्
28 मोहना
29 मठन
30 मह
31 मेमा
32 मनेसमेहाना
33 कुगस
34 बोगमु

Masons Signatures

ID (s)
Continued

35 रेगम
36 नुम
37 बम्र
38 गाब्
39 हवदस
40 हेवीदस्र
41 हबत
42 हमन
43 फलप
44 हउदा
45 रपे
46 दा
47 हदपल
48 मोल से ता रस तेई सा ममा फो तकफ
49. मादन
50. कवल्

51 IIE
52 ११।
53 धममल

Masons Signatures

SIKANDARA
[S(s)]

1. उासकरन
2. आसा
3. उपै
4. कसम
5. षगानउ
6. षनागु
7. षरागु
8. षनगर्
9. षनगु
10. षनग
11. षौमा
12. षमन
13. [illegible]
14. गरीवा
15. प्यास
16. टावर
17. चरम
18. तनराान
19. तुनसा
20. [illegible]
21. तनसील
22. प्यरम
23. डारषा
24. प्यरमु
25. नपक
26. नमातीना
27. ननातीन
28. नउ[illegible]
29. नरवीब
30. तुनसीश
31. नथ
32. नगष
33. पोले
34. पैमा
35. पेमा
36. [illegible]
37. पौभ
38. पोग

Masons Signatures

S(s)

39. पसु
40 पनसु
41 पनमकद
42 परहम
43 पल
44 फमनह
45 मघका
46 मघक
47 मघकन
48 मेघेकुन
49 माप्यौमोहानारामाप
50 माहनवानलका
51 मोट
52 माप्यौ
53 मोरन
54 मोहन
55 नुरसा
56 नुनसा

57 नदन
58 नपेर
59 नपे
60 लं
61 ललु
62 ललराद
63 लुलराद
64 लोहर
65 वासन
66 वीसब
67 वीसन
68 वी
69 वसन
70 वतुरा
71 वघलु
72 वाण्त
73 वीणल

74 हुनगोर
75 सह
76 सवसी
77 साण्पनगरमान
78 सदन
79 हरग
80 हरगु
81 हमदर
82 हमज्ञनी
83 हनयसी
84 हरयस
85 हनतसी
86 हनसीर
87 हनग
88 हनगु
89 हमदर
90 हनरत
91 हपो

Masons Signatures

AGRA FORT [AF(s)]

1 कढ़.प
2 वलवकमयग...
3 गमहसा
4 गोवह
5 गवह
6 गहपा
7 पनमंषरागकदस
8 चेतन
9 ठिह
10 पफरगद षमल
11 मघ
12 मुकपा
13 मोरा
14 लठरा
15 प४०
16 [illegible]
17 दोवा
18 उव
19 دسو ۲
20 سمارم
21 کردسر
22 کردسر
23 کرسر
24 کردسرادل کعفر شد
25 سردسر
26 کدکد بادشہ
27 ۲ راسر
28 ۲۵ کرسالی
۱۱ الہ سال
29 سرسعال عد مرحلہ
30 ۲۳ موشہ اوحد
31 ۲۹ کر ۲ سر
32 ۲۲ موشہ

Masons Signatures

ARAM BAGH [AB(S)]

1 केलून

2 केलनू

3 केल्कक

4 जगदीन

5 जगदीस

6 जादायो

7 णसान

8 तमन

9 तमदीस

10 पामणु

11 फतक

12 पहक्रनु

13 पुरनु

14 भवसब

15 भवसीब

16 भवसीहा

17 भइषीहा.

18 मायो

19 लोयो

20 लोघे

21 लेघे

22 लषो

23 वह

24 उफ

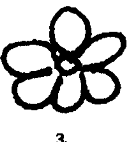
25 पवसीघ

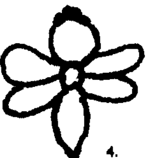
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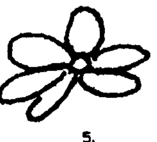
Marks of Professionals


1.

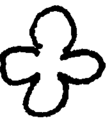

2.

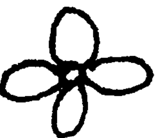

3.

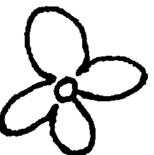

4.

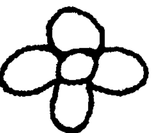

5.


6.


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10.

Marks 1 - 9: Goldsmiths & Jewellers. Marks 7-9 also of masons


11.


12.

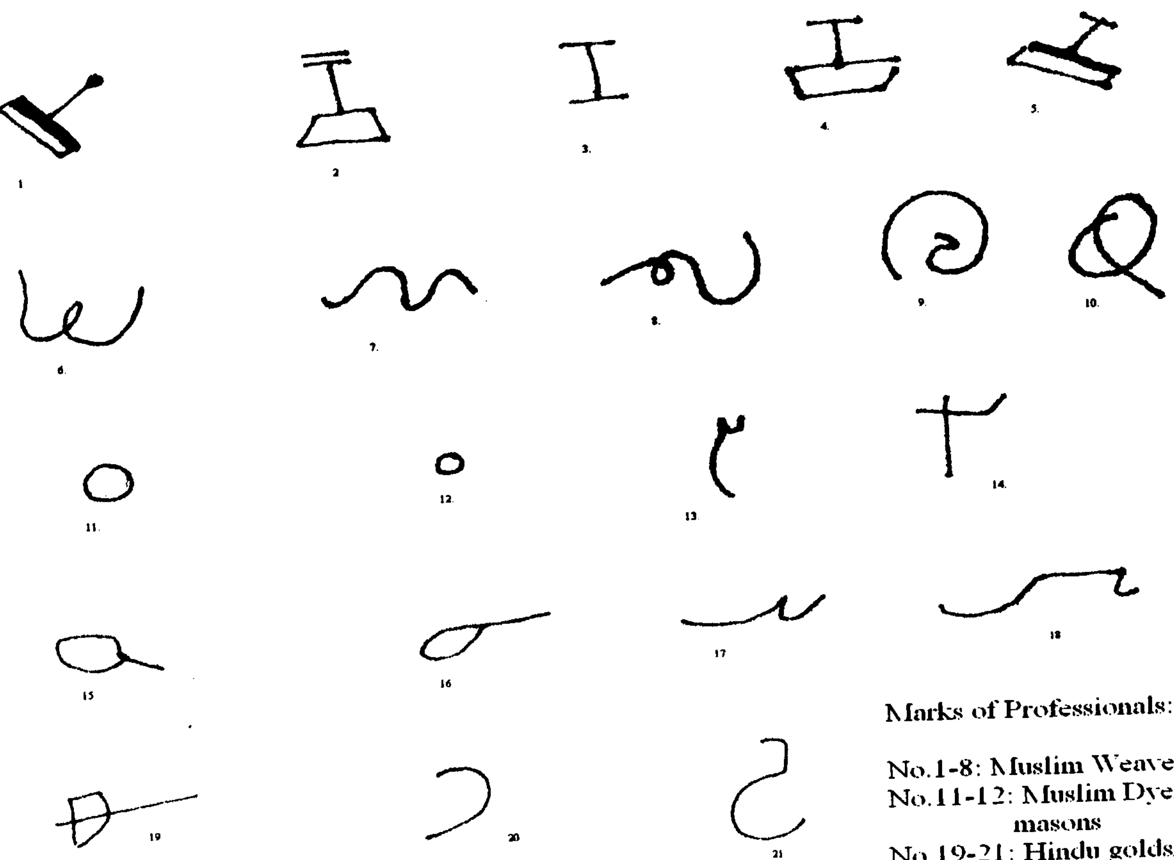

13.


14.


15.

Marks 11-14: painters & oil-pressers. Mark 15: tent-maker

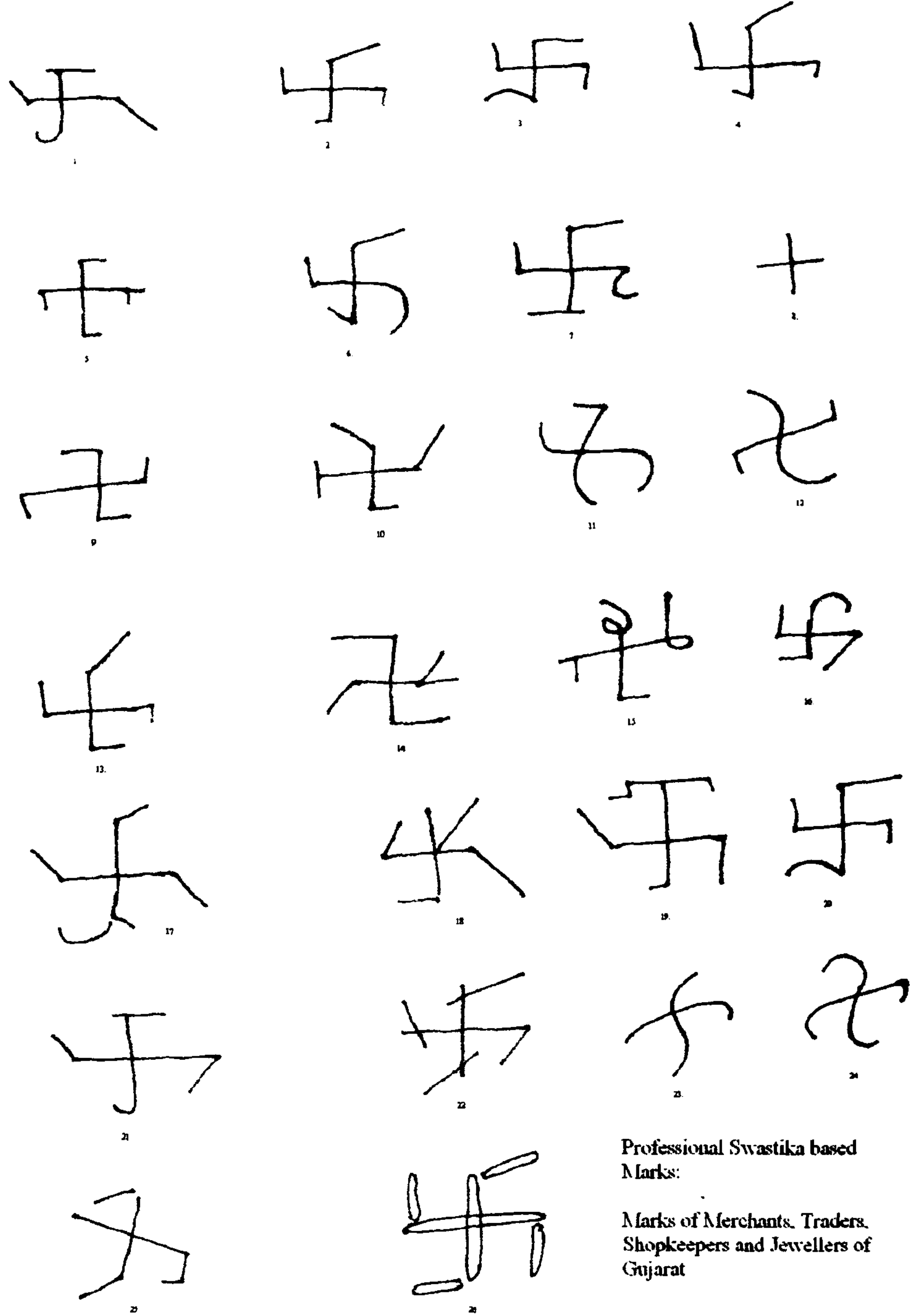
Marks of Professionals



Marks of Professionals:

No.1-8: Muslim Weavers
No.11-12: Muslim Dyers & masons
No.19-21: Hindu goldsmiths

Marks of Professionals



Professional Swastika based Marks:

Marks of Merchants, Traders, Shopkeepers and Jewellers of Gujarat

Chapter VIII

Urban Middle Class Housing

[9] Urban Middle Class Housing

Our sources on residential structures and housing in Medieval India not only include European records and Persian texts but also legal documents like *bai'namas* (sale-deeds), *rahn-namas* (mortgage deeds) and *hibanamas* (gift- deeds). These are then correlated with and supplemented by the actual archaeological finds.

A number of European travellers, who visited India during the medieval jeriod, pass adverse comments on Indian towns and houses. Babur, according to Shaikh Zain, formed a very dismal view of the ingenuity of the Indians to build their residential structures. He found these houses asymmetrical, non-airy and poorly constructed.[1302] Yet a study of our documentary and archaeological evidence points to the variety and distinctions of the urban houses in India.

The type of a house can be differentiated by taking into consideration the material used in its construction, the extent and richness of the covered area or the mode of roofing. In the first category we may have mud, straw, bamboo, wood, brick, stone, and brick & stone structures. Depending on the type of roof, three further categorizations can be made, viz. Thatched, Tiled and Terraced. Further, if we go by the terms employed by our sources, the houses under the Mughals were either simple residential houses with only a few rooms (*manzil-khana* or *khana*), or mansions (*haveli*). The word *makan* is not used for a house and *bangla* yet had the significance of a movable wooden structure. The term *kothi* is also not being used for a residential house: its use appears to be confined to the sense of a commercial establishment.[1303]

[1302] Shaikh Zain Khawafi, *Tabaqat-i Baburi*, tr. Hasan Askari, Delhi, 1982, p. 108

[1303] For a definition and explanation of these terms, see Nurul Hasan, "The Morphology of a Medieval Indian City - A Case Study of Shahjahanabad in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Century", *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Kurukshetra, 1982, pp.314-15.

The structure and mode of a house heavily depends on the topography, climatic conditions as well as the social ethos and the economic viability of its builders and occupants. Francois Bernier was aware of these factors. In one of his passages describing the houses in India, Bernier comments:

> "In treating of the beauty of these towns, I must premise that I have sometimes been astonished to hear the contemptuous manner in which Europeans in the Indies speak of these and other places. They complain that the buildings are inferior in beauty to those of the Western World, forgetting that different climates require different styles of architecture; that what is useful and proper at Paris, London, or Amsterdam would be entirely out of place at Dehli...."[1304]

After deliberating on the intense heat in India, Bernier further says:

> "....Now only suppose the streets of *S. Jaques* or *S. Denis* transported hither, with their close houses and endless stories; would they be habitable? Or would it be possible to sleep in them during the night, when the absence of wind increases the heat almost to suffocation? Suppose one just returned on horse-back, half dead with heat and dust, and drenched, as usual, in perspiration; and then imagine the luxury of squeezing up a narrow dark staircase to the fourth or fifth story, there to remain almost choked with heat. In the Indies, there is no such troublesome task to perform."[1305]

Fryer also mentions that the Indian houses were 'contrived for convenience'.[1306]

[1304] Francois Bernier, *Travels in Mughal Empire, 1656-68 A.D*, tr. A. Constable, Delhi, 1968, p.240.
[1305] *Ibid.*, pp.240-41
[1306] J. Fryer, *A New Account of East India and Persia in Eight Letters being Nine Years Travel - Begun 1672 and Finished 1681*, Delhi, 1985, p.199

Apart from the climatic factor, the question of easy availability of the raw-material needed to construct the house, as well as the price factor were taken into consideration. In other words, the economic means of the people would define the nature of the house.

In most of the Indian towns, we are informed, the common people as well as members of the lower ranks of society lived in 'lowly huts and tiny cottages'.[1307] Fr. Rodriquez in a letter to Fr. Quadras comments that in the towns between Belgaum and Bijapur, the dwellings were huts which were 'inferior to those the bulls have in our country, and in some parts the pigs'.[1308] In the town of Burhanpur and the entire area around it, according to Thomas Roe, the houses were built of mud. In fact we hear that in this area there was "not a single house for a man to rest in."[1309] Similarly in Bengal all such houses were constructed of "mudd, dug out of the ground."[1310] In Southern India also most of the houses were of mud, and, as Fryer mentions, mostly belonged to the "hindus who also plastered their floors with cow-dung."[1311] In Surat as well there were quite a few houses built with clay mixed with cow-dung. Sometimes brushwood was also employed to give a support.[1312]

Abul Fazl in his chapter entitled *'Ain-i imarat,* mentions thatchers (*chhapparband*) whose wages were 3 *dams* per day or 24 *dams* per 100 *gaz* of thatching done, indicating thereby the economy of such roofing.[1313] Thus in Delhi

[1307] *Fr. Monserrate, The Commentary of Father Monserrate, S.J. (On his Journey to the Court of Akbar),* tr. J.S. Hoyland, OUP, Calcutta, 1922, p.219

[1308] *Cf.* John Correia-Afonso, "Bijapur Four Centuries Ago as described in a Contemporary Letter", *Indica*, vol.1, 1964, Bombay, p.83.

[1309] Account of Sir Thomas Roe in *Purchas his Pilgrims*, Samuel Purchas, Glasgow, vol. IV, 1905, pp.323, 443

[1310] *The Dairy of Streynsham Master, 1675-80,* ed. R.C. Temple, London, 1911, pp.92-93.

[1311] Fryer, *op.cit.*, p.199.

[1312] Tavernier, *Travels in India*, tr. V. Ball, New Delhi, 1977, Vol.1; p.6; Careri, *The Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, tr. & ed. S.N. Sen, New Delhi, 1949, p.163. For similar houses in Nandurbar near Surat, see *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608- 67*, vol.11 (*Travels in Asia, 1628-34*), ed. Sir R.C. Temple, London, 1914, p.44

[1313] Abul Fazl, *A'in-i Akbari*, Nawal Kishore, Vol.1, n.d., p.117.

there were an immense number of small structures built of mud and thatched with straw in which the troopers and a multitude of servants and camp followers lived. These thatched roofs were supported by a layer of 'long handsome and strong' canes, while the mud walls were covered with a 'fine white lime'.[1314] In Agra and Masulipatam, the common sorts of houses were built with mud walls covered with a thatched roof.[1315] Thatched houses in great numbers are also mentioned at Narwar near Gwalior, Patna and Burhanpur.[1316] These mud structures at Lahiri Bandar in Sindh, we are informed, were "supported with such poore tymber that it is a wonder how they stand."[1317] At Thatta, Boccaro says, the ordinary houses were made entirely of poles covered with a mixture of straw and mud. This straw and mud plaster over the poles made the walls hard.[1318] Similarly at Toke in Maharashtra, the houses with walls of bamboo framework were plastered with mud or cowdung.[1319]

The question which arises is: how and with what material was the thatching done? It appears that in the cities of Delhi and Agra, the thatching of such structures was done with the help of straw.[1320] At Calicut, where palm and coco-nut trees are in abundance, palm and coconut leaves were utilized to thatch a house.[1321] The house structures in Southern India were thatched with boughs or oleas of palm or teak-

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[1314] Bernier, op.cit., p.246.
[1315] Account of William Finch in *Purchas*, op.cit., vol.IV, p.75; 1. Fryer, op.cit., p.27. For the large number of mud and thatched houses in Masulipatam, see Sreenivas, "Old Masulipatam", *The Journal of the Hyderabad Archaeological Society*, 1918, p.42.
[1316] Tavernier, op.cit., pp.42, 51, 100.
[1317] *English Factories in India, 1634-36*, ed. W. Foster, p.124.
[1318] Fr. A. Meersman (tr.), "Antonio Boccaro's Description of Sind', *Journal of Sind Historical Society*, vol.IV, p.201.
[1319] M.S. Mate, *Maratha Architecture (1650A.D. to 1850A.D.)*, Poona, 1959, p.28
[1320] Bernier, *op.cit.*, p.246; John Jourdain, *Journal of John Jourdain*, Hakluyt Society, 1905, pp.152-153.
[1321] *The Travels of Pietra Della Valle in India*, ed. E. Grey, Hakluyt Society, London, 1892, vol. II, p.360; *The Voyage of Francis Pyrard of Laval*, tr. & ed. A. Grey, Hakluyt Society, London, 1887-90, vol.1, pp.360, 403-4.

leaves.[1322] These leaves were interlaced to make the thatch, as was the case in some of the Surat houses.[1323] Ovington says that such houses were termed 'Cajan' houses.[1324] At Surat, a number of such thatched houses had walls made of canes.[1325]

In his list of artisans employed in the building establishment, Abul Fazl mentions reed binders (*patalband*) who were employed to thatch the houses. Such reeds, we are informed, were also varnished to give them longer life and durability. Abul Fazl uses the term *lakhira* for those employed in varnishing the reeds.[1326] We have a number of references in our sources regarding *patalbandi* (reed thatching). For example at Surat, reeds were used along with palm-leaves in thatching houses.[1327]

Yet another type of structures was those which were constructed with the help of bamboo or wood. Tavernier mentions a large number of carpenters' houses near Dacca which were nothing but 'miserable huts' constructed of bamboo with a covering of mud over them.[1328] Such use of interlacing in mud walls provided the strength needed to hold the huts in the wet climate of Dacca. Some of the houses in Surat were built with bamboo interwoven with reeds.[1329] Similar bamboo houses were also found in Delhi and Patna.[1330] These bamboos were shaped and cut to size for use

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[1322] Fryer, *op.cit.*, pp.199-200.
[1323] George M. Moraes, "Surat in 1663 as described by Fr. Manuel Godinho", *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the RoyalAsiatic Society, (new series)*, vol.27, pt.II, 1952, p.125
[1324] Ovington, *A Voyage to Suratt in the Year 1689*, contained in *India in the Seventeenth Century*, ed. J.P. Guha, New Delhi, 1984, p.95
[1325] Careri, op.cit., pp.22-23; For houses thatched in such a manner down to the 19th century see Maria Graham, *Journal of a Residence in India*, 1813 (2nd ed), pp.4-5.
[1326] *A'in-i Akbari*, op.cit., vol.1, p.117; For a discussion of such professionals and their wages, see my paper "Organization of Building Construction in Mughal India", presented at the Dharwar session of the Indian History Congress, 1988.
[1327] Tavernier, *op.cit.*, vol.I, p.6; J. Ovington, *op.cit.*, p.95. In Rajasthan too we have evidence that in 1694 reeds were used in building construction. See *Arhsatta Imarati* preserved in Bikaner Archives, Bikaner (Microfilm, Deptt. of History Research Library, AMU, Aligarh). I am thankful to Dr. Sumbul Haleem Khan, now Reader in the Department, who brought this information to my notice and helped me in deciphering the documents.
[1328] Tavernier, op.cit., I, p.105
[1329] Ovington, *op.cit.*, p.95.
[1330] Tavernier, *op.cit.*, I, pp.78, 100.

in building construction by a group of experts known as *banstarash*.[1331] Badauni says that at Patna such thatched structures covered with wood or bamboo roofs were generally known as *chhapparband*.[1332] The technique of joining the bamboo sticks to make a cage or frame, later to be covered with thatch or mud could be accomplished in quite a few ways. According to Abul Fazl, the lattice and wicker worker (*pinjara-saz*) could apply six techniques. The *pinjarasaz* could accomplish his job either by fastening the pieces with string into a dodecagonal, or by giving it a twist of a dozen circles (*duazdih gird*). The third method was to make a hexagon.[1333] The most frequent shape that was however given was of a criss-crossed wattle, popularly known as *ja'fari*.[1334] Yet another form was the chess-board style of making small squares. The most intricate style was of joining the bamboo-sticks by interweaving.[1335] Popularity and easy accessibility to these various techniques and styles can well be alluded from the respective wages a *pinjarasaz* could get by applying one of these methods. The lowest per day wage was that of a lattice-worker applying the chess-board style, while the one expert in interweaving the bamboo sticks drew the highest wages.[1336] These wages might suggest the type of bamboo-stick binding a middle class or common man would resort to while constructing his house.

Another popular medium for construction of houses was wood.[1337] In Dacca and Masulipatam there were quite a few houses with wooden walls.[1338] Sometimes such wooden walls had a plaster coating.[1339] We are also told that some houses even

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[1331] *A'in-i Akbari*, op.cit., I, p.117.
[1332] Badauni, *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Bib. md. Calcutta, vol.II, p,182
[1333] *A'in-i Akbari*, op.cit., I, p.117.
[1334] Mundy describes the use of such wattle and thatch style for Patna houses and huts. Mundy, *op.cit.*, II, p.364.
[1335] *A'in-i Akbari, op.cit.*, I, p.117.
[1336] *Ibid.*
[1337] Abul Fazi mentions 72 varieties of wood. *A'in-i Akbari, op.cit.*, pp.118-19.
[1338] Tavernier, *op.cit.*, 1, pp.105, 141.
[1339] Fryer, *op.cit.*, p.27.

had wooden palisades around them instead of a proper wall.[1340] In Kashmir the most commonly available building material was wood, and one finds that houses in that region were all constructed with it, while ceilings were provided with a covering of *gil* or clay. Usually these wooden residential structures were two to four storeys high.[1341] The shaping and chiselling of the wood to be used in the construction of houses was carried out by a specialized class of carpenters known as *durudgar*.[1342]

At Calicut, during the 17th century, instead of simple mud walls, the houses of lower bureaucracy were built of mud bricks dried under the sun with a thatched roof over them.[1343] In Jodhpur the houses of this class were of mud and roofed with tiles (*khaprel*).[1344] The majority of the middle class houses, however, were built of brick as well as stones. In the upper middle-class residential structures, care was taken to cordon off the quarters meant for the lodging of women, either with the help of a screen-wall, or/and a high plinth elevated to the height of six or seven steps. This was to provide them privacy and security.[1345] The privacy was also generally taken care of by constructing a staggered entrance (*deorhi*). These features are encountered not only in the houses of the bureaucracy and nobility at Fathpur Sikri, but also in the merchant houses at Cambay and Baroda in Gujarat and the settlements of Kuldhara, Khaba and Manpiya in district Jaisalmer in Rajasthan.[1346] A survey of such structures excavated

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[1340] Pyrard, op.cit., I, p.404.
[1341] *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri*, ed. Saiyid Ahmad Khan, Ghazipur & Aligarh, 1863-64, vol.11, p.299.
[1342] *Ain-i Akbari*, I, p.117.
[1343] Pyrard, op.cit., I, pp.403-4.
[1344] *Waqa'i Sarkar Ranthambhor wa Ajmer*, c.1678-80, transcript, Deptt. of History Research Library, AMU, p.381.
[1345] See for example Tavernier, *op.cit.*, pp.78, 79, 86; Finch, *op.cit.*, pp.27, 52.
[1346] Surveys of the medieval settlements including Kuldhara in district Jaisalmer were undertaken by the author between 1993-95, whereas the survey at Fathpur Sikri is still underway. The author is thankful to the members of his team from the Archaeology Section, Centre of Advanced Study, Department of History, AMU, as well as his colleagues, the Late Mr Rajiv Sharma and Dr. S. Jabir Raza for making the surveys at Jaisalmer and Fathpur Sikri possible.

at Fathpur Sikri in fact shows that even the male quarters were sometimes provided with a staggered entrance.[1347]

Security and privacy was also provided to these houses by their being detached and separate from each other with common ground in between.[1348] Thus at Agra, the *banya* houses were surrounded all round with gardens and orchards so much so that Bernier says, they had "the appearance of old castles buried in forests."[1349] In Fathpur Sikri, the present author encountered at least two residential complexes, probably those of Mughal bureaucrats, which were surrounded by small orchards or gardens (*painbagh*).[1350] Bernier describing the streets at Delhi says that they were interspersed with the houses of '*mansebdars*, or petty *omrahs*, officers of justice, rich merchants[1351], and others; many of which have tolerable appearance'. He further says:

> "...Very few are built entirely of brick or stone, and several are made only of clay and straw, yet they are airy and pleasant, *most of them having courts and gardens*, being commodious inside and containing good furniture. The thatched roof is supported by a layer of long, handsome, and strong canes, and the clay walls are covered with a fine white lime."[1352]

A survey of the excavated structures, as well as the surviving buildings at Fathpur Sikri (including the areas of Old Sikri, Nagar and Fathpur town) confirms that except in their dimensions, the residential structures of the Mughal bureaucrats were

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[1347] The excavations at Fathpur Sikri were conducted by the joint teams of the Archaeological Survey of India and the Centre of Advanced Study in History, AMU, Aligarh between mid 1970's and 1980's. The Aligarh team worked under the Directorship of Prof. R.C. Gaur.

[1348] Tavernier, *op.cit.*, I, pp.86, 141; A. Hamilton, *A New Account of the East Indies (1688-1723)*, contained in *A General Collection of the Best and Most Interesting Voyages and Travels in all parts of the World*, John Pinkerton, Vol.VIII, London, 1811, p.414

[1349] Bernier, *op.cit.*, p.285

[1350] *Cf.* S.A.N. Rezavi, "Mughal Gardens at Fathpur Sikri", *PIHC*, Bangalore, 1997.

[1351] At another place he says tht the rich merchants of Delhi had their 'dwellings elsewhere, to which they retire after the hours of business', Bernier, *op.cit.*, p.245

[1352] Bernier, *op.cit.*,p 246

quite similar in nature and plan to those of the nobles.[1353] All the architectural elements in these houses rotated around a centralized courtyard (*sahn*). Generally, those structures were divided into two distinct portions — the *mardankhana* (male quarters) and the *zenankhana* (female quarters) with a staggered entrance or wall screen separating the two portions. The main door of the house would open into an ante-room (*deorhi*) which was generally connected with an open courtyard surrounded by a peristyle (*aiwan*) and a number of chambers (*hujra*) and porticos (*dalan*). The *zenankhana* was usually at the far end of the main door with a *deorhi* (staggered entrance) or a screen-wall (*purdah*) separating it from the *mardankhana*. Service structures like the kitchen (*matbakh*) and the *abdarkhana* (the water storage and beverage room) were located in the female quarters. The male quarters were sometimes furnished with platforms (*chabutara*), water-tanks (*hauz*) and *jet d'eau*.

A smaller side-entrance also usually opened from the *zenankhana* to the outside. This was possibly meant for the service class. Separate lavatories (both stepped dry-seat and of *sandas* and soak-pit type) were attached to both sections of the house. These lavatories were invariably located near the entrance doors. As against the Mughal *hammams*, these houses of the bureaucracy contained baths with subterraneous masonry water-heating devices. The walls of almost all the chambers were adorned with windows and niches. In one structure we have the evidence of verandahs with covered with sloping roofs resting on slender stone pillars shading the chambers of the *zenankhana*.

As against the evidence of underground chambers provided with ventilators to push cool air inside the noble's houses,[1354] the middle class structures surveyed at

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[1353] The author carried out these surveys between 1992-97. I am beholden to my colleague, Late Mr.Rajiv Sharma and the members of my archaeology team, Mr. Anis Alvi, Mr. Ghulam Mujtaba and Mr. Zameer Ahmad for making these surveys fruitful.

[1354] Bernier, *op.cit.*, p.274; Mundy, *op.cit.*, II, p.191.

Fathpur Sikri had no such luxury. A few subterraneous chambers are however encountered in the bureaucratic residences at Kuldhara in district Jaisalmer.

Another category of housing during our period was the bureaucratic structure known as *Yatishkhana*. Describing the Mughal court at Fathpur Sikri, Fr. Monserrate mentions:

> "In order that the officers who are permanently on duty in the palace may be able to perform their duties conveniently and thoroughly, the king has had a small private office built for each of them within the precincts of the palace. In these offices they can work undisturbed; and hence the name of *iataxqhana* (*Yatishkhana*, i.e. the house of solitude or house of quenching thirst) has been given to them".[1355]

Badauni informs us that Abul Fazl had a "*yatishkhana*" at the *darbar-i padshahi*, that is, the Imperial palace.[1356] An inscription, now placed as a cenotaph over a "grave" near the *hauz-i shirin* also bears the same term, although with a different spelling than the one used by Badauni,125 *viz.*

> "*yatishkhana-i banda-i dargah Muhammad Baqir Sufrachi*" (i.e. Yatishkhana of the servant of the court, Muhammad Baqir, the Superintendent of the Kitchen Establishment/Imperial Table)".[1357]

Thus term *yatishkhana*/*yataskhana* would connote an office attached to the workplace of a Mughal bureaucrat. It is interesting to note that adjoining almost all the *buyutat* and *karkhanas* (workshops and bureaucratic establishments) are found

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[1355] Fr. Monserrate, *Commentary*, p.206.
[1356] Badauni, III, p.59.
[1357] The inscription placed on a wall of the *matbakh* (Kitchen) was discovered by Mohd. Saeed Mahrahravi, *Tarikh-i Fathpur* (Urdu), 1905. It was later re-discovered at the present site by SAA Rizvi, see Rizvi and VJA Flyn, *Fathpur Sikri*, Bombay, 1975, p.20. This inscription was photographed by the present author in October 1992.

structures which resemble residential structures which although separate are attached to them individually.

The planning and layout of these structures point out that these "houses of solitude" apart from being offices also, sometimes, served as residences of the various bureaucrats supervising these establishments. The *Yatishkhana* of the Superintendent of the Animal Establishment at Fathpur Sikri is built of rubble stone. At some places (especially the three rooms of the residential area) traces of hirmichi red fine polished plastering survive.

Aligned in North-East and North-West direction, this complex is rectangular in shape. The entrance to this *yatishkhana* as well as the whole Animal Establishment comprising of the *Cheetahkhana*, *shuturkhana* etc. is through a large gateway on the Hathipol - Daulatkhana ceremonial route. It is situated on the south-western corner of the complex. On the other side of the road are the vaults on top of which is constructed the *hauz-i shirin* tank. The main entrance to the complex is towards the north-east through a 1.20 m wide passage which is flanked by bastions. Through this door one enters into the first courtyard which is unpaved and rectangular in shape. Adjoining the door, towards the south-eastern corner is a laterine with six *qadamcha* seats. Beyond this toilet is a series of four chambers,the first and the second of which are interconnected. Fronting the fourth room, at a distance of 3.20 m is a 'U'-shaped *deorhi* which connects this portion of the complex with the residential area to which we would come later. A passage between the *deorhi* and the above mentioned fourth chamber of the first courtyard leads to another set of laterine and a domed *hammam* which comprises of three square chambers (including a changing room) and a central bathing -chamber which is vaulted and octagonal in shape. Between this *hammam* and the 'U'-shape *deorhi* is a small courtyard to the north-west of which is a 3.60 m wide

platform. This courtyard and the platform are surrounded with walls with only two openings, one of which connects them with the residential portion, while the other opens into the passage connecting the first courtyard with the *hammam*.

Towards the north of the first courtyard, adjoining the main door is a raised second courtyard which is lime-mortared and almost square. Towards the north-west of this second courtyard is a double-platform, the upper plinth of which appears to have once been adorned with a railing towards the north-west, over-looking the lake of Fathpur Sikri, and a reclining roof covered with blue tiles, which can still be seen littered around. A series of rectangular grooves which once held the pillars and the railings are distinctly visible.

The area around the first and the second courtyard appears to have served as the office space of the *darogha* of this establishment. The officer possibly discharged his duties from the raised and canopied platform in the second courtyard while his clerical staff helped him out from the four chambers near the main door in the first lower courtyard.

The private residential portion of the *yatishkhana* could be entered either through the above mentioned *deorhi* or through an opening on the second courtyard which connects to the first of the three inter-connected rooms of the residential section. This area is built on a still higher plinth, and like the second courtyard is lime-mortared. The first room which connects this portion with the official area is the smallest. All the three rooms have stone pilasters situated on all the four corners and in the middle of the walls, suggesting that there was once an arched (vaulted) ceiling covering them. A door on the north-west of the third room opens into a narrow gallery which probably once led to the canopied platform in the second courtyard. Another two doors in the third room open in front of an amazing garden which is 9.55 m long

and 5.55 m wide, and contains 16 visible circular flower-beds. A raised portico is constructed to the south-east of this garden. To the west of the garden and the portico is the third courtyard, which like the second is lime-mortared. In the north-west of this courtyard, overlooking the lake is constructed some raised platforms.

Similar in plan and construction is the *yatishkhana* of the Superintendent of the Sarai at Fathpur Sikri. The main entrance of this structure is towards the east and is provided with a cobbled ramp, on both sides of which are screen walls. A square platform is constructed towards the north of this entrance. The entrance is shielded by a screen-wall which forms an "L" shaped *deorhi*. This *deorhi* opens into the first courtyard which is rectangular in shape. Towards the south of the *deorhi* and the main entrance is a very small and narrow vestibule with no apparent doorway or opening. Further south is a medium sized chamber provided with a raised platform. This was either a store or water-storage chamber (*abdarkhana*). Further south is another chamber which has a narrow water-channel (*nali*) connecting it to a small toilet. At the southern-most end of this side is a smaller entry which presumably was used by the service class. In front of this opening towards the west is a masonry water cistern.

Towards the south of the first courtyard, are constructed three chambers, the first of which has a large niche provided in its northern wall.

On the North of this first courtyard are two raised platforms. The first of these, towards the north-east adjoins a chamber. Towards the north of the first platform is a 2.76 wide passage from which 4 steps descend to a slope and then further 10 steps which keep getting broad and lead down into the structure which is constructed on top of the Hathipol Sarai. To the west of this stepped passage is a screen wall.

At a higher level than the first courtyard and its chambers, towards the west, is the second large courtyard. On the southern flank of this is a centrally located portico

the roof of which rested on two pillars, the rectangular stone bases of which still survive. A vestibule flanks this portico from either side. Behind the narrow western vestibule is constructed a hollow bastion. A 3.87 m wide verandah fronts these structures.

To the north of this second courtyard are another two chambers. A water-tank with a 0.68m wide channel cuts the courtyard into two portions. Interestingly enough two or three circular flower beds, similar to the ones in the Animal Superintendent's *Yatishkhana* are also encountered in this courtyard. Probably this portion was meant to be a garden area with flower beds, water channels and water tanks.

The mere fact that this complex is connected with a flight of steps to the porticoes constructed on top of the Hathipol Sarai would mean that this was the *Yatishkhana* or official residence of the *darogha* (superintendent) of the Hathipol *Sarai*, as was the case with the *daroghas* of the Animal and Kitchen Establishments.

On the other hand, the common merchants, at least in Delhi, had their dwellings on top of their shops or ware-houses. According to Bernier, these brick-houses were airy and 'tolerably commodious within', having as terrace the roof of the shops in front, where the occupants would sleep during the night.[1358] While passing through a town in December 1616 which he calls as Godah, Sir Thomas Roe witnessed double storeyed houses 'such as a Pedlar might not scorne to keepe shop in, all covered with tyle.'[1359] A survey of the excavated *bazar* between the Agra Gate and the *Diwan-iAm* at Fathpur Sikri revealed a set of two to three rooms placed just at the back of the row of shops. Possibly they represent the shopkeeper's residence in Akbar's capital. The walls of these structures are built of loose rubble held with lime

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[1358] Bernier, *op.cit.*, pp.245-46.
[1359] Account of Sir Thomas Roe, *Purchas,* vol.IV, p. 384

and *kankar* mortar. Built at a higher level on the ridge, these structures accord well with the statement of Bernier regarding the houses of merchants at Delhi.

The richer sections of the mercantile class, however, resided in separate and independent well-built brick and stone structures.[1360] Commenting in 1689 on the large number of merchant houses found almost all over the Mughal Empire, Ovington mentions that they were "unproportionate to the wealth of inhabitants, who are always concerned to conceal their wealth."[1361] He further adds:

> "Only for the encouragement of trade in cities and maritime towns, he (the emperor) dispenses with the merchants building their houses, and the propriety of them descending in their families; very few are allowed paternal inheritances; but even all this is the extraordinary grace and favour of the prince and revocable at his pleasure."[1362]

On the other hand, Tavernier maintained that the *banya*-merchants and artisans dwell in their houses 'from father to son' which was the reason why most of the houses owned by them were of stone and brick.[1363] According to Monserrate, the wealthy 'Brachmanae' too had stone houses which were plastered with lime.[1364] At Agra, the merchant houses were 'tolerably good' in four of five streets where trade was "the principal occupation."[1365] Here also they were built of brick and stone and had a flat terraced roof.[1366] According to Finch most of the brick houses of '*banyas*' and 'handicraftsmen' were not only fair and high, but had carved windows and doors.[1367] In Lahore these brick structures were higher than those of Agra and

[1360] *Ibid*; Tavernier, *op.cit.*, I, pp.78-79.
[1361] Ovington, *op.cit.*, p.95.
[1362] *Ibid.*, p.87.
[1363] Tavernier, *op.cit.*, I, p.46.
[1364] Monserrate, *op.cit.*, pp.97-98.
[1365] Bernier, *op.cit.*, p.285.
[1366] Finch, *op.cit.*, p.75.
[1367] *Ibid.*

Delhi.[1368] In 1610 William Finch found the city was mostly inhabited by merchants and handicraftsmen who had building 'faire and high' constructed generally of bricks. He remarks that these structures had "carved windows and doors'.[1369] Infact at Lahore Manucci informs us that the 'houses are lofty, some having eight stories'.[1370]

The houses in Banaras were sometimes built with the help of 'cut stone',[1371] while those at Narwar near Gwalior, Sironj in Malwa, and Maham in *Sarkar* Hissar were all mostly double storeyed and built with bricks and stone with either terraced or sloping roofs adorned with tiles.[1372] At Gwalior such houses were fronted with a *verandah* covered with a sloping roof supported with stone pillars and raised on a plinth with steps leading towards it, as in the case of the bureaucrat's structure at Fathpur Sikri.[1373] A sale-deed (*bai'nama*) relating to the Vaishnavas of Pindori, depicts a middle class double storeyed house of baked bricks (*khisht-i pukhta*) comprising an open gallery (*aiwan*), a chamber and a common sitting place with an eave on the ground floor, and a chamber along with a loggia on the upper storey.[1374] Such middle class houses are also encountered at Ajmer, where apart from the living rooms they had the *aiwans*, *rivaq* (porch) and *baradari* (a pillared chamber or peristyle). They had reclining *khaprel* (terra-cotta tile) roofs.[1375]

Much interesting light is thrown on urban housing by a perusal of a large number of documents relating to the Bhandari family of Batala.[1376] From this set of

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1368 Tavernier, *op.cit.*, I, p.77; Monserrate, *op.cit.*, p.160.
1369 Finch, *op.cit.*, p.52
1370 Manucci, II, p.173
1371 Tavernier, *op.cit.*, I, p.96.
1372 *Ibid.*, I, pp.46, 51; *Ma'asir-i Ajdad*, pp.517-18.
1373 Mundy, *op.cit.*, II, p.60.
1374 B.N. Goswamy & J.S. Grewal, *The Mughal and Sikh Rulers and the Vaishnavas of Pindori - A Historical Interpretation of 52 Documents*, IIAS, Simla, 1969, Doc. No.VII.
1375 *Bainama*, dtd. 8 *Rabi* I, 997 A.H.; *Bainama*, dtd. 12 *Ramazan*, 1000 A.H.; *Hibanama*, dtd., c.1000A.H.; *Qismatnama*, dtd. 14 *Ramazan*, 1056 A.H. All these documents are contained in Abdurbar Ma'ni, *Asnad-us Sanadid*, n.d., Ajmer.
1376 J.S. Grewal, *In the By-Lanes of History - Some Persian Documents from a Punjab Town*, IIAS, Simla, 1975.

documents it appears that most of the houses of ordinary merchants and lower bureaucracy were mostly single and sometimes double storeyed. But the houses of officials and richer sections of the society were strongly walled and massive, being four - or five storeyed.

Most of the *havelis* (mansions) mentioned in these documents were built of burnt bricks,[1377] though sometimes un-baked bricks (*khisht-i kham*) were also used.[1378] For roofing these mansions seasoned beams (*chub-i tirbandi*) were used.[1379] While at other times both seasoned and unseasoned beams (*chub-i tirbandi wa kham*) were also utilized.[1380] We also get a reference to the ceiling being entirely constructed with unseasoned beams and jungle-wood (*jungali*).[1381]

Among the owners of *havelis*, the Batala documents mention Karam Ilahi, a *rang-rez* (dyer) whose mansion was triple storeyed.[1382] The burnt brick *haveli* of a brahman consisted of a few rooms, a *deorhi* and two shops.[1383] There is also a mention of simple houses (*khana*) of goldsmiths (*zargar*).[1384]

In South India the Muslim mercantile class had houses built of stone and mortar. These structures, according to Fryer, were quite un-impressive from the outside, but 'delicately contrived' from the interior and contained water tanks, *verandahs*, and platforms. They were surmounted with a terraced roof. They were also sometimes three to four storeys high.[1385] Mercantile houses in Masulipatam, though constructed with wood and plaster, were also 'high and lofty'.[1386] They were beautified with wooden windows latticed with 'Rattans', and were provided with

[1377] *Ibid.*, Docs. XVI, XVII, XVIII, XIX, XXIV, XXVII & XXII.
[1378] *Ibid.*, Doc.I.
[1379] *Ibid.*, Doc.XVIII, XIV.
[1380] *Ibid.*, Doc., XXIV, XXVII.
[1381] *Ibid.*, Doc.XXII.
[1382] *Ibid.*, Doc.XVII.
[1383] *Ibid.*, Doc.XVI.
[1384] *Ibid.*
[1385] Fryer, *op.cit.*, p.199; Monserrate, *op.cit.*, p.219.
[1386] Fryer, *op.cit.*, p.27.

balconies with tiled ceilings, a square courtyard and vaulted water tanks. The roofs were usually flat.[1387] Like in other towns, these buildings stood detached from each other with gardens in between.[1388]

On the contrary, the houses at Goa were large with their outside quite magnificent, while those at Daman were built of stone.[1389] The stone houses at Calicut were roofed with tiles.[1390]

M.S. Mate's researches show that — as in the case of Fathpur Sikri discussed above — the residential structures in the Maharashtra region also evolved round the system of quadrangles. In them we find liberal use of timber framework of beams and brackets.[1391] Each of these structures had a courtyard, all around which were constructed the rooms fronted with *verandahs*. Each house contained a private temple, spacious bathrooms, *sandas* with soak pit latrines and masonry drains. These latrines were generally situated on either side of the main door with a separate entry for the scavengers. In some cases there were underground cellars as well.[1392]

Our sources are the richest as far as the middle-class housing of Gujarat in concerned. Abul Fazl mentions that the houses in this *suba* had a *khaprel* (tile) roof, burnt brick walls plastered and cemented with lime (*chuna*), and had the foundations dug wide and raised with stones. The walls of some good houses were hollow with an inner passage running through them.[1393] According to Jahangir, the merchants at Cambay had built 'fine houses'.[1394]

[1387] *Ibid.*
[1388] Tavernier, *op.cit.*, I, p.141
[1389] A. Hamilton, op.cit., pp.327, 353; Francesco Carletti, *My VoyageAround the World*, tr. from Italian by Herbert Weinstock, London, 1965, p.202.
[1390] Pyarard, *op.cit.*, I, pp.403-4.
[1391] Madhukar Shripat Mate, *Maratha Architecture (1650-1850 A.D.)*, op.cit., p.23.
[1392] *Ibid.*, pp.26, 28, 47, 48.
[1393] *Ain-i Akbari*, *op.cit.*, II, p.114.
[1394] *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri*, p.206

Fortunately, the National Archives of India, New Delhi, has a large collection of Persian documents (with a summary in Gujarati at the end) dealing with the Cambay houses which provide us with the detailed description and the material used.[1395] We also have a *hibanama* (gift-deed) of five of the residential structures of Shantidas Jauhari, which too provide us with such details.[1396] All these documents deal with the properties of the Gujarati merchant community.

From these documents it appears that in a typical Gujarati mercantile residential house the main door (*dar-i guzar*) gave way to an ante-room (*dahliz, delhi* or *dehri*)[1397] which opened generally into an inner courtyard (*sahn*).[1398] Immediately after the *dahliz* was a covered *verandah*- like structure known as *patsal* or *parsal.*[1399] In some cases there was a provision of double or triple *patsal*, either one behind the other, or on both sides of the courtyard. In both cases the covered *verandah* situated towards the courtyard was known either simply a *patsal* or *baharni patsal* (in Gujarati) meaning the external portico, whereas the inner one was called *patsali* or *andarni patsal* (in Gujarati).[1400] This was followed by living rooms (*hujra*) known as *ordo* in Gujarati. All these rooms had a single axis of movement and surrounded the brick-layered courtyard, which was also called *chauk.*[1401] The service rooms, like kitchen (*matbakh / rasodu*),[1402] water room (*Abdarkhana / paniaru*)[1403] were situated

[1395] National Archives of India, Oriental Section, Documents 2695/1-44; 2702/1-14.
[1396] The ***hibanama*** has been reproduced by M.A. Chaghtai, "A Rare Historical Scroll of Shahjahan's Reign", *Journal of Asiatic Society of Pakistan*, vol.XVI, no.1, April, 1971. For a different rendering of this gift-deed see, Jawaid Akhtar, "Santidas's Property in Ahmadabad—An Analysis of his Gift-deed, 1657", presented at the Srinagar session of Indian History Congress, 1986 (mimeographed).
[1397] NAI, 2699/1, 6, 14, 28, 30; Santidas' ***hibanama***, *op.cit.*
[1398] Santidas' ***hibanama***, *op.cit.*; NAI, 2695/35.
[1399] NAI, 2695/1, 3, 6, 8, 11,14,17,20, 32; 2702/4, 5, 6, 7; Santidas' ***hibanama***, *op.cit.*
[1400] NAI, 2695/1, 3, 6, 8, 11, 14, 17, 20; 2702/4, 5, 6, 7; Santidas' ***hibanama*** *op.cit.* For *Patsali*, see NAI 2695/1, 2; & 2702/5, 6.
[1401] NAI 2695/6, 8, 11, 28; 2702/4; Santidas' ***hibanama***, *op.cit*
[1402] NAI 2695/1, 3, 6, 8, 11, 14, 21, 28; Santidas' ***hibanama***, *op.cit.*
[1403] NAI 2695/3, 16; Santidas' ***hibanama***, op.cit.

near each other. At other times the kitchen was sometimes located in the *dahliz*,[1404] while the *Abdarkhana* could also be located in the *patsal*.[1405] The water-room either had a small platform with round indentations to hold water pots or masonry tanks (*khum-i ab*) for storing water.[1406] These *khum i ab* could also be built in the kitchen,[1407] *patsal* and/or in the *patsali*[1408] and the *chauk*.[1409]

Interestingly this feature is found absent in the Fathpur Sikri houses, where only small platforms are constructed in the *abdarkhanas*. Invariably all the Gujarati middle class residential structures had these masonry water tanks. At the rear end of the house or sometimes in a corner was situated a small room or cell (*chhendi*) which was used to store grain.[1410] Sometimes an enclosure for the domestic animals (*bara*)[1411] or a cow-shed (*sairati*) was also provided.[1412] Frequently a privy is also mentioned at a corner near the door.[1413] At the entry to the house were built a couple of masonry platforms (*chabutara*),[1414] which were sometimes also constructed of mud.[1415] Some of the good houses were also provided with a cupola / balcony (*mahtabi / rivaq*) on the top.[1416] The doors were also provided with eaves (*chhajja*).[1417] Bigger houses could have two or more courtyards,[1418] while the smaller ones sometimes had to make do with a courtyard shared with other houses.[1419] Some

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[1404] NAI 2695/6.
[1405] NAI 2695/16.
[1406] NAI 2695/1, 9, 11, 14, 15, 16, 17; Santidas' *hibanama, op.cit.*
[1407] NAI, 2695/28.
[1408] NAI 2695/1, 3, 16, 21, 32; 2702/5, 7.
[1409] NAI 2695/11.
[1410] NAI 2695/1, 3, 7; Santidas' *hibanama, op.cit.*
[1411] NAI 2702/6.
[1412] NAI 2695/6, 7, 9, 11, 1521; 2702/4.
[1413] NAI 2695/28.
[1414] NAI 2695/1, 3, 7, 11, 15, 16, 17, 18, 28, 31, 32, 34; 2702/4.
[1415] NAI 2695/6.
[1416] Santidas' *hibanama, op.cit.*
[1417] NAI 2605/11, 14,. 16, 32; 2702/4.
[1418] NAI 2695/1; Santidas' *hibanama, op.cit.*
[1419] NAI 2695/3, 8, 9, 15, 17; 2702/5, 6.

of the houses also had a well or underground water-tank (*chah, tanka or birka*).[1420] The *birka* (underground water tank) was sometimes located either in the kitchen or in the *chauk*.[1421] From the available data it also appears that a sufficient number of drains and sewage tanks and water sprouts (*mamar-i ab, abchak, navdan*) were used to drain out dirty water. We also find the mention of a double-house with a shared *dahliz*.[1422]

A perusal of these documents also shows that most of the houses were built of burnt brick (*khisht-i pukhta*) and were plastered with gypsum or lime-mortar (*gach / chuna*). The ceilings were constructed of teak wood (*saj*) beams and planks, which were sometimes covered with a layer of terracotta tiles (*sifal*).[1423] At Baroda, during the same period, however, it appears that the middle class residential structures were built of sun-baked bricks.[1424] Probably it was due to these features that the European chroniclers and travellers, as well as the Mughals were all praise for Gujarat houses.[1425] But quite unlike the Maratha houses constructed at Baroda, the other residential buildings in this *suba* do not appear to have had a temple or prayer room attached to any of them.[1426]

[1420] NAI 2695/3, 7, 8, 17, 21, 28, 31, 32, 34; 2702/2; Santidas' *hibanama, op.cit.*
[1421] NAI 2695/28 & 8.
[1422] NAI 2695/1, 6; Santidas' *hibanama, op.cit.*
[1423] Terra Cotta tiles in large numbers are still found scattered around the site of excavated structures at Fathpur Sikri. In the houses of the nobility and higher bureaucrats the blue- glazed tiles decorated the lean-to roofs and ceilings. Both the type of tiles are also frequently represented in Mughal paintings.
[1424] See S.C. Misra, "Some seventeenth-eighteenth century Urban documents from Baroda", *Indian Historical Records Commissions*, vol.XLVII, Delhi, 1981. From the *Lekhapadhati* documents, however, it appears that sometimes the roofing was done only with reeds and supported with pillars. See Pushpa Prasad, "Lekhapadhati Documents of 16th Century", presented at *IHC*, Amritsar, 1985, Doc.VI. (mimeographed).
[1425] . *Tuzuk, op.cit.*, I, p.206; Finch, *Purchas*, IV, *op.cit.*, p.64, Tavernier, I, *op.cit.*, pp.6, 56; Careri, *op.cit.*, p.163; Fryer, *op.cit.*, pp.22-39.
[1426] For a discussion of Maratha houses at Baroda, see V.S. Pramar, "Maratha Residences of Gujarat in 18th & 19th Centuries", *Indica*, vol.19, Bombay, 1982, p.51.

The contemporary European accounts and travelogues also throw much light on the residential structures of the mercantile classes at Surat.[1427] In 1609, when William Finch visited the city, he found it "with many merchants, houses therein." He also noticed 'faire houses' with "high steps to each man's door" in the town of Randere.[1428] These merchant houses at Surat during the first half of the 17th Century were generally stone and brick houses which were 'faire, square, flat-roofed'.[1429] When Fryer visited Surat in 1675, he found that most of these flat roofed 'noble' houses belonged to the Muslim merchants while those of '*banians*' (Hindu Merchants) were 'ill-contrived'.[1430] The flat roofed houses, we are informed, were double-storeyed, with their upper storeys provided with doors and widows to let in air and light since the glass was not used.[1431] It appears that generally the houses from the exterior were 'uncouth' but embellished' from inside.[1432] However as compared to the other classes, the mercantile classes in Surat, according to Godinho paid 'greater attention to the exterior than to the comforts within'. According to him, the mercantile houses of Surat were built of stone and lime up to the first floor, and thereafter of carved teak-wood 'interspersed with enamel and lacquers of variegated hues'.[1433] Abbé Carré, who visited Surat around 1668, while describing the interior of the houses at this city says that the floors were made by porcelain and had shining walls.

[1427] For the mercantile houses and morphology of the city of Surat, see, Aniruddha Ray, "The Growth of the City of Surat, 1610-1671", *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bangladesh*, (Humanities), Vols. XXIV-VI, 1979 – 1981, pp.95 – 107.
[1428] William Finch, *op.cit.*, pp.27-28; For Randere, see also De Laet, *Description of India*, tr., J.S. Hoyland, Delhi, 1975, (reprint), pp. 17-18.
[1429] Reverend Patric Copland in *Purchas*, op.cit., vol.IV, p.149; see also Edward Terry in *Purchas*, op.cit., vol.IX, pp.21-22; Sir Thomas Roe, *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to India, 1615-1619*, ed. Foster, Oxford, 1926, p.48, 105; John Albert de Mandelslo in J.B. Harris, *A Collection of Travels*, London, 1735, vol. I, p.756; Souchon de Rennefort, *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, Leiden, 1668, p.467-79, *Cf.* Aniruddha Rai, "The Growth of the City of Surat", *op.cit*, p.103-4
[1430] Fryer, *op.cit.*, p.92
[1431] Terry, *op.cit.*, pp. 21-22; Ovington, op.cit., p. 95
[1432] Account of Fr.Manuel Godinho in Gearge M.Moraes, "Surat in 1663 as described by Fr.Manuel Godinho", *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, (New Series), vol.27, pt.2, 1952, p.125
[1433] *Ibid.*

Flower vases added freshness to the rooms while the windows were made of scales of crocodiles, tortoise shells or pearly lustre to get more light. He also informs us that most of these houses had 'secret wells' to guard the treasure.[1434] At Cambay, as well, we get the reference of the tortoise shells being used to decorate the walls of the residential structures.[1435]

Fryer mentions that due to the high price of glass which made it 'scarcely purchaseable', being imported from Constantinople, the windows, except in the houses of some 'high notables', were usually closed with either carved folding wooden or 'ising-glass or oister-shell' panels screened with '*cheeks or latises*'.[1436] However Souchon de Rennefort, Secretary of the French Company and a contemporary of Carré found that there were no windows in the houses of Surat. But he supports the account of Carré when he too mentions the 'secret wells' in the Surat houses.[1437] These double storeyed houses also had a terraced roof "very substantially done with lyme etc."[1438] Rennefort mentions that the flat roofs on top of these double storeyed structures were used as promenades for women. These terraces were adorned with flowers and jet waters which converted them into gardens for exclusive and private use.[1439] It was probably these lime plastered houses that Mandelslo mentioned as the 'white summer houses' at Surat.[1440]

Carré in fact compares the style of living of the merchants of Surat with those of Merseille in France. According to him the Indian merchants were having their houses outside the the city as well, where they used to go with their families, 'leaving

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[1434] Abbé Carré, *Voyages des Indes Orientales*, Paris, vol. I, p.39 *Cf.* Aniruddha Ray, "The Growth of the City of Surat", op.cit. The Fawcett's ed., *The Travels of Abbé Carré, 1672-1674*, Hakluyt Society, 1974 does not include these passages.
[1435] Pyrard, *op.cit.*, II, p.561.
[1436] Fryer, *op.cit.* p.92; He mentions folding windows with lattices in Masulipatam as well. (*ibid.*, p.27)
[1437] Souchon de Rennefort, *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, Leiden, 1668, p.479, *Cf.* Aniruddha Rai, "The Growth of the City of Surat", *op.cit*, p.103
[1438] P. Mundy, *op.cit.*, p.25; Fryer, *op.cit.*, p.92
[1439] Rennefort, *op.cit.*
[1440] Mandelslo in J.B. Harris, *A Collection of Travels*, London, op.cit., vol. I, p.754.

the tumult and noise of the city'.[1441] Thevenot, who came to Surat in 1666 similarly testifies to the good merchant houses at Surat. According to him, while the ordinary people lived in thatched cottages, the rich had costly stone houses, 'flat as in Persia', constructed with timber and tiles imported from outside Surat. To quote:

> "The Houses of this Town on which the Inhabitants have been willing to lay out Money, are flat as in *Persia*, and pretty well built; but they cost dear, because there is no Stone in the Countrey; seeing they are forc'd to make use of Brick and Lime, a great deal of Timber is employ'd, which must be brought from *Daman* by Sea, the Wood of the Countrey which is brought a great way off, being much dearer because of the Land-Carriage. Brick and Lime are very dear also; and one cannot build an ordinary House at less than five or six hundred Livres [approx. Rs.400] for Brick, and twice as much for Lime. The Houses are covered with Tiles made half round, and half an Inch thick; so that they look white when they are used, and do not last; and it is for this reason that the Bricklayers lay them double, and make them to keep whole. Canes which they call *Bambous* serve for Laths to fasten the Tile to; and the Carpenters wok which supports all this, is only made of pieces of round Timber: Such Houses as these are made for the Rich; but those the meaner sort of People live in, are made of Canes, and covered with the branches of Palm-trees...."[1442]

It is however interesting to note that in spite of the above mentioned description of the houses of Surat, we have a contrary testimony of Tavernier, who gives a rather dismal description of these houses. Tavernier is very categorical when he remarks:

[1441] Abbé Carré, *op.cit.*, *cf.*Aniruddha Ray, op.cit.
[1442] Thevenot, *op.cit.*, pp.22-23.

"...the houses of private persons are like barns, being constructed of nothing but reeds, covered with cow-dung mixed with clay, to fill the interstices, and to prevent those outside from seeing between the reeds what goes inside. In the whole of Surat there are only nine or ten well-built houses, and the Shahbandar or chief of the merchants, owns two or three of them. The others belong to the Musalman merchants, and those of the English and Dutch are not *the least fine*..."[1443]

Surveys of the remains of the medieval residential structures at Jaisalmer in Rajasthan reveal a somewhat similar plan and layout. The middle class houses in the Jaisalmer Fort and in the abandoned Paliwal Brahmin settlements of Kuldhara, Khaba, Dedha and Manpiya reveal features of Gujarat and Fathpur Sikri houses which are adapted to the conditions of the desert climate.[1444] It is pertinent to point out that the Paliwal settlers of the region of Jaisalmer and Sathalmer (Pokhran), although Brahmins by caste were merchants and traders by profession.

A typical middle-class house in the Jaisalmer region had a main entrance fronted with a raised platform (*otta*). The door would open into an ante-room locally known as *mora* or *moda*, beyond which was the courtyard known as the *chauk*. The rooms (*kotha / kothar*) were situated at the other end of the *chauk* and were sometimes fronted with a pillared *verandah* known as *pathiyal* (the *patsal* of Gujarati houses). The open *chauk* contained within its confines the *rasoi* (kitchen) and the water storage platform and tank (*parinda*). In some of the residential structures inside

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[1443] Tavernier, I, p.6

[1444] The author conducted these field surveys in 1995. For a detailed survey report and analysis of the Medieval Paliwal settlements see S.Ali Nadeem Rezavi and Rajiv Sharma, "Surveying a 17th 18th century settlement in the Rajasthan Desert: Kuidhara, Distt. Jaisalmer," in *Archaeology since Independence*, ed. K.M. Shrimali, New Delhi, 1995; S.A.N. Rezavi, "Kuldhara in Jaisalmer State-Social and Economic implications of the Remains of a Medieval settlement", *PIHC*, Calcutta, 1995, pp.312-32.

the Jaisalmer Fort, a fire altar (*havan kund*) is also found constructed in the centre of the *chauk*. Beyond the rooms, mostly at the back portion of the house was constructed a cellar (*bhanwra*). Although there were very few windows, yet the walls of the rooms were provided with niches (*arra*) presumably for the storage of goods.

In case of double-storeyed houses, the stairs were generally situated to the left of the entrance. It is interesting to note that except in a few houses at Kuldhara and Khaba, the male and female quarters do not appear to have been separate. Only in a very few structures were we able to locate a screen wall. Baths and latrines are also conspicuous by their absence. As in the Gujarati mercantile houses, most of the houses at Khaba and Dedha appear to have had a narrow rectangular cowshed which was generally constructed on the right side of the courtyard. However, at Kuldhara its construction is not so frequent. A large number of houses at Kuldhara, on the other hand, contain a large grain-store at the back of the main chambers.

Although generally these structures centre around a single courtyard, yet some structures, probably occupied by more affluent section of the society had two courtyards, dividing the house into two portions. The two sections were connected with each other through a *mora* (*deorhi*). In most of these structures, a shallow water-trough (*nadi*) was placed at the door of the *deorhi*.

It is also interesting to note that most of the residential structures at Kuldhara and Khaba had a single main chamber which was flanked on either side by one or two small cubicles. In Jaisalmer Fort, the number of rooms could go up to three in the houses of this category.

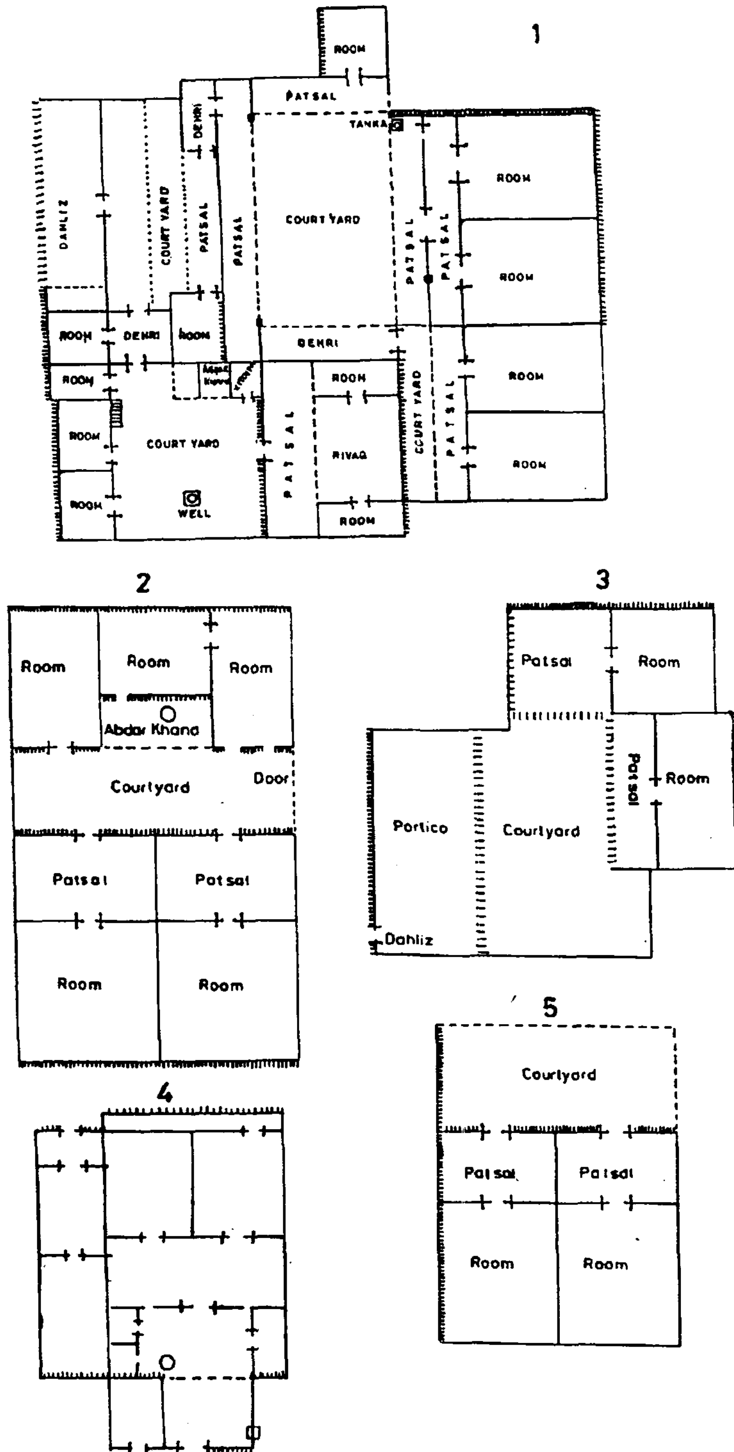
The houses of the administrators at Kuldhara, who again were rich agriculturists and traders; there was an additional feature — beautifully carved pillars and brackets of the locally available yellow buff stone. Some of these structures also

contained underground chambers with single opening hidden inside a chamber to descend into it. It reminds us of the 'secret well' in merchant houses of Surat mentioned by Carré and Rennefort.

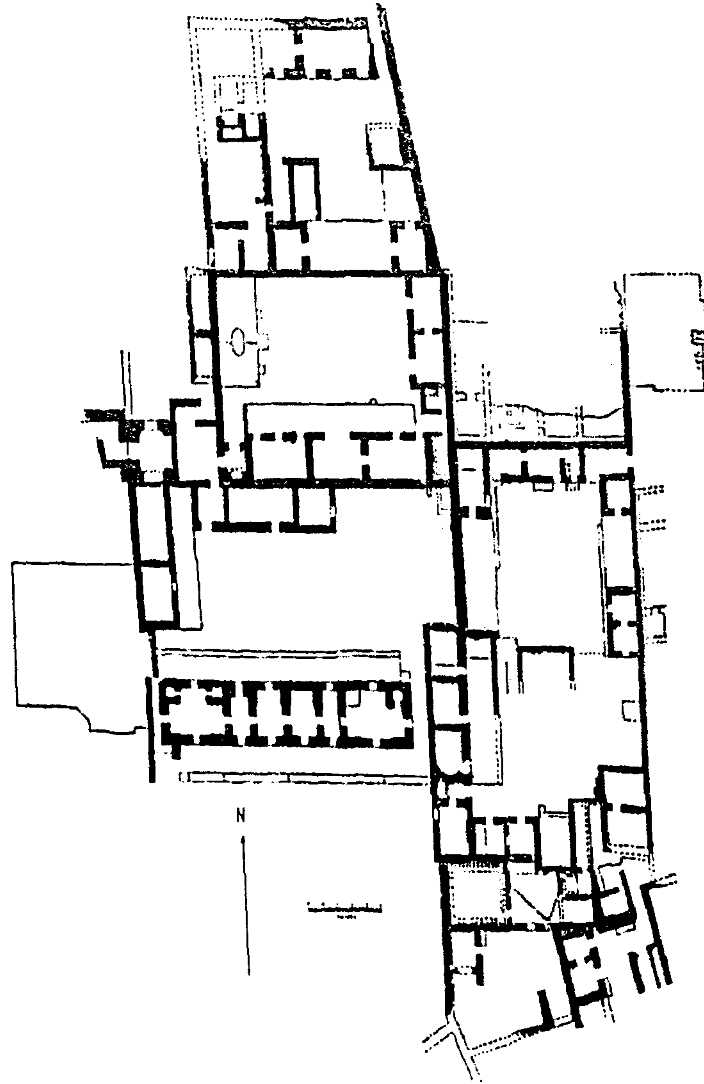
Thus we see that during the medieval period the residential structures had a common feature, a centralized courtyard. They also had a common concept of organizing the space. From the residential structures of the high ranked bureaucrats at Fathpur Sikri, to the mercantile houses of Gujarat, to the structures of a remote settlement like Kuldhara in the middle of the Thar, what differed was the material of construction, which depended on the easy availability and topography of the region. The middle class housing is found to be not only utilitarian but also reflecting the sweep of a common material culture which bound a Muslim *darogha* at the Mughal court to a Hindu *banya* merchant at Cambay during the course of the seventeenth century.

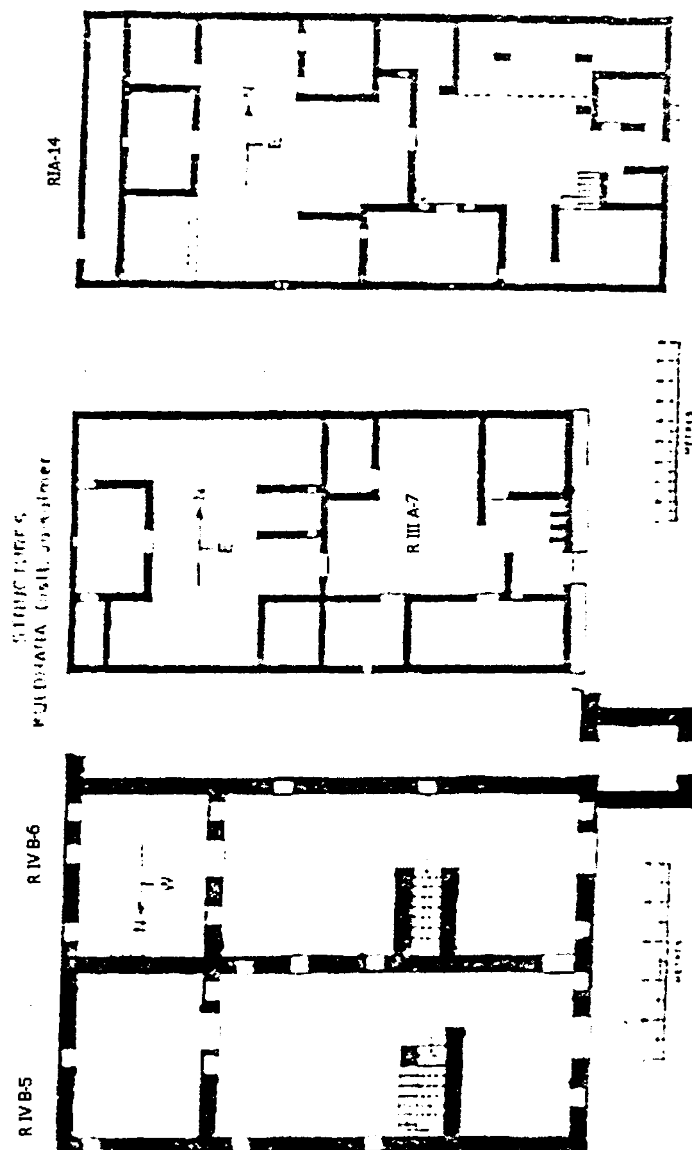
We can see from this detailed reconstruction of residential housing that a combination of the use of written material with archaeological field-work can tell us much about the way residential houses were constructed by different classes of people in different areas in Mughal times. There is need for special attention to be paid to this subject in planning archaeological work. It is a pity that the Archaeological Survey has not carried out any serious project in this sphere, and its work to-date has displayed very little interest in relating field work to written evidence. This lapse needs surely to be rectified.

RESIDENTIAL STRUCTURES OF GUJARATI MERCHANTS

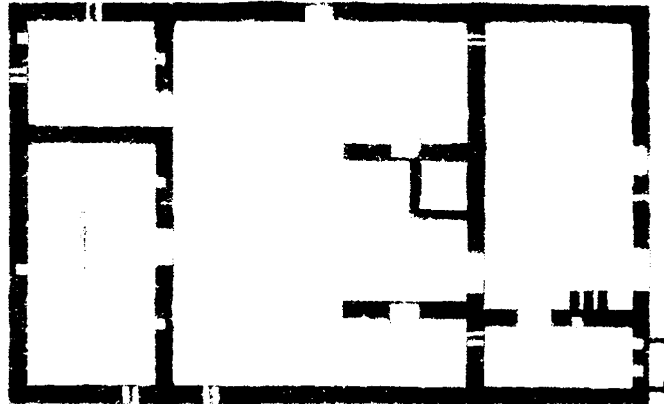


RESIDENTIAL STRUCTURE AT FATEHPUR SIKRI

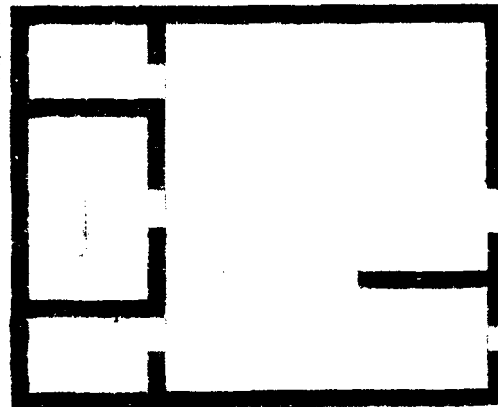


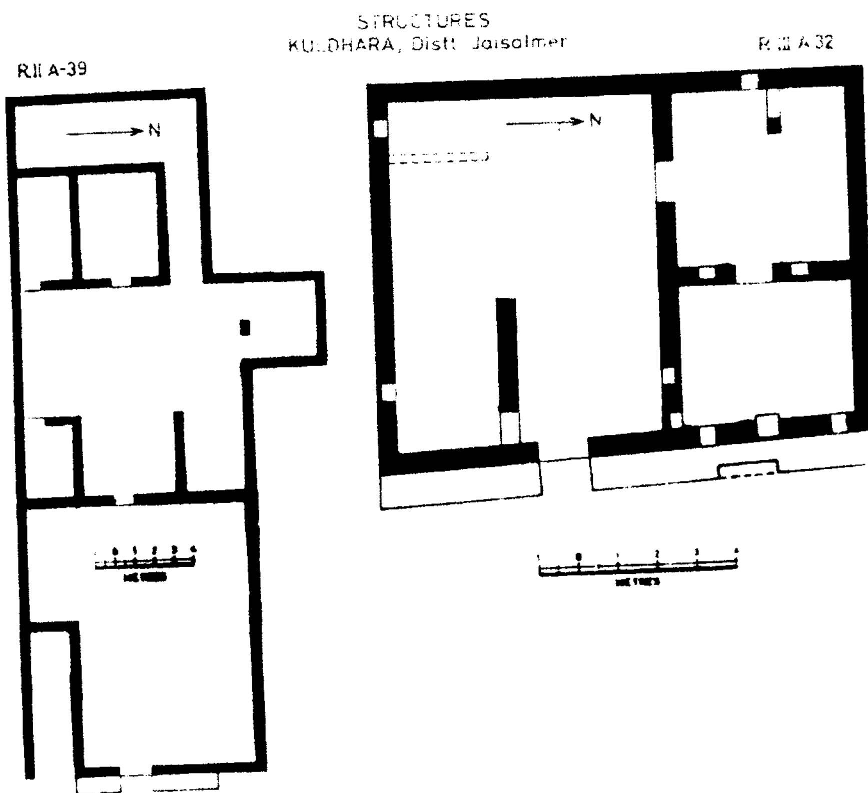


RIA-14
R III A-7
R IV B-6
R IV B-5








STRUCTURES
KULDHARA, Distt. Jaisalmer
R.II A-39
R.II A 32
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Chapter IX

Middle Classes in Mughal Miniatures

[10] Depiction of

Middle Class Professionals in Mughal Miniatures

Mughal miniature paintings have since long been appreciated for their aesthetic value. Some scholars have also utilized the Mughal miniatures as a source for reconstructing the material culture of the Mughal period.[1445] Yet no attempt appears to have been made to exploit the Mughal miniatures to help reconstructing various aspects of social history.

A study of the Mughal society from the fore going chapters reveals the existence of a "middle-class" comprising of the physicians, architects, teachers, scholars, poets, painters, musicians and a large number of master craftsmen, apart from the merchants *who* made their living by selling their professional skill. The Mughal School of painting, unlike the Persian and Pre-Mughal Indian schools of paintings, being more attuned to realism depicts the members of this class with much accuracy. In fact a number of premises formulated by a reading of the textual evidence get confirmed if collated with the information revealed by the Mughal miniatures. The extreme emphasis on accuracy of portraiture and the realistic depiction of historical events was the hallmark of the paintings made under Akbar and his successors.

Learned Professions:

Amongst the middle classes, members of the learned professions appear to be the most numerous in depictions in the Mughal miniatures. A total number of

[1445] S.P. Verma, *Art and Material Culture in the Paintings of Akbar's Court,* New Delhi, 1978; Ahsan J.Qaisar, *The Indian Response to European Technology and Culture (AD. 1498 – 1707)*, Delhi, 1982; *idem, Building Construction in Mughal India: The Evidence from Painting,* Delhi, 1988; *idem,* 'Agricultural Technology Depicted in Mughal Paintings, *Itinerario*, vol.XVI, no.2, 1992, Leiden, pp.61-84; Rana Firdaus, "Professions and Craft as Depicted in Mughal paintings", M.Phil dissertation (unpublished) AMU, 1985; SR Sarma, "Astronomical Instruments in Mughal Miniatures", in Inge Wezler (ed.), *Studies zur Indologie und Iranistk,* Reinbek, 1992

sixty-four Mughal paintings (including 8 margin depictions) are devoted to the members of this section of the middle class. Around 48% of these representions belong to the reign of Akbar.

TABLE I

REIGN	Total Paintings	Teachers	Scholars	Poets	Calligraphers
AKBAR	31	7	14	5	5
JAHANGIR	26	7	7	4	8
SHAHJAHAN	14	5	4	3	2
TOTAL	64	12	25	12	15

Amongst the learned professions depicted, largest number is that of the ubiquitous 'scholars': the learned men depicted with books, pens and inkstands. The second largest number is that of the calligraphers; who were more represented under Jahangir. Almost invariably the dress code of the teachers and scholars was similar to that of the *ulema*. Most of them have been depicted wearing a long wide-sleeved *qaba* over an ankle- length *Jama* which was held in place with the help or a simple *patka* or *katzeb*. This *patka* in the case of teachers and scholars was mostly plain, and was possibly made of cotton.[1446] The dress of the older poets depicted in the Mughal miniatures resembles the attire of the *ulema* and the

[1446] See for example "A Scholar and his Pupil", attributed to Mir Sayyid Ali, Edwin Binney 3rd Collection, Brooklines, Massachusetts, cf. Brand and Lowry, *Akbar's India: Art from the Mughal City of Victory*, New york, 1985, p.103, pl.67; "Shaikh Husain Jami & Attendant", signed by Govardhan, Musee Guimet, Paris, no. 7173, cf. Amina Okada, *Imperial Mughal Painters, Indian Miniatures from 16th & 17th Century*, tr. Deke Dusinberre, Flammarion, Paris, p. 198, pl. 234

scholars[1447] but in the case of younger members of this aesthetic profession, the resemblance is much more with the members of the bureaucracy and nobles.[1448]The most distinguishing feature of the Mughal attire was the *dastar* or turban. It was the *dastar* which signified the social status and dignity of a person.[1449] This *dastar* was folded in loops which could be crosswise, circular or oblique on either a cap *(kulah)* or directly on the head,[1450] Our paintings testify that the teachers mostly tied very heavy turbans, (See Chart I, fig. 12, 18, 19, 20, 22) which' were tied in oblique loops. All these turbans were made of a unicolor piece of cloth.[1451] In one m~rgin painting a teacher is shown sporting a turban (Chart I, fig. 17) which was tied by twisting the cloth in the shape of a rope.[1452]

It is interesting to note that whenever a teacher is depicted, he is shown along with his pupils and books. They are invariably shown seated either on a platform or on a mat. The importance of imparting knowledge during the reign of Akbar can be gauged from the fact that under him two paintings of *madrasa* and one of *pathshala* were commissioned.[1453] The *pundits* while teaching, are shown

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1447 For example, "Zafar Khan with Poets and Scholars", attributed to Bishandas, *Masnavi* of Zafar Khan, Royal Asiatic Society, London, MS.,Pers.310,*ff.*19 (b)-20 (a), cf. Amina Okada, *op.cit.*, pl.194; "Poetry Recital", (first quarter of the seventeenth century) cf. AJ Qaisar, *Indian Response to European Technology*, op.cit., pl.9; "Portrait of Jam Qudsi", by Bichitr, Art Gallery, Indian Museum, Calcutta, no.33, cf. Percy Brown, *Indian Painting under the Mughals AD 1550 to AD 1750*, Oxford, 1924, pl.61, fig.1.

1448 "Poet & Listener", margin decoration by Goverdhan in *Muraqqa-i Gulshan*, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Nasli & Heerman Collection, no.M.78.9.11r., cf. Amina Okadā, *op.cit.*, pl.231.

1449 For a discussion on the turban of the king, nobility and working classes, see SP Verma, *Art and Material Culture*, op.cit., pp.49-50

1450 *Ibid.*, p.50

1451 See for example, "A School Scene", painted by Dharamdas, *Khamsa* of Amir Khusrau, Walter Art Gallery, Baltimore, W.613,*f.*26 (b), cf. Rumer Godden, *Gulbadan: A Portrait of a Rose Princess at the Mughal Court*, New York, 1980, pl. p.37; "A School Master & His Pupil", cf. Brand & Lowry, *Akbar's India*, op.cit., pl.42; "Prince with his Teacher", cf. *Miniatures in Lahore Museum Collections*, vol.I, ed. M.Baqir, The Panjabi Adabi Academy, Lahore, 1964, pl.8 etc.

1452 "Teacher and Student", Margin Painying by Govardhan, in *Jahangir's Album*, State Libray, Berlin, MS. 117,*f.* 25 (b), cf. Amina Okada, *op.cit.*, pl. 232

1453 "A madrasa scene", painted by Lal & Sanwala, *Khamsa-i Nizami*, Keir Collection, Pontresina, 119 (a), cf. BW Robinson, *Islamic Painting and the Arts of Book*, London, 1976, pl.112; "A School Scene", painted by Dharamdas, *op.cit.;* "A School outside the walls of a Town", by Asi Kahar, *Razmnama*, John Frederck lewis Collection, Philadelphia, cf. SP Verma, *Mughal Painters and their Work: A*

wearing very small turbans (Chart I, Figs. 4 & 28) lightly placed on their heads.[1454] As far as the pupils are concerned, in most cases they appear to be princes or young high born gentlemen. It is only in one case that a student appears to belong to a lower stratum of society.[1455] But then possibly, the artist was here giving vent to his imagination while trying his hand on a Western theme.

The scholars in the Mughal miniatures are similarly identifiable with the help of the books and pen either in their hands or placed nearby. In most of the cases their *dastars* were similar to the *dastars* adorning the heads of the theologians (Chart I, Figs. 11, 18, 22-27). Some times they simply wore a *Kulah* without a turban.[1456] (Chart I, Fig. 34).

The *dastars* of the poets were generally shorter than those of the scholars & *ulema*, though much similar in resemblance (Chart I, Figs. 12, 23).[1457] Sometimes they resembled the turbans of the nobility, yet were more simpler in make(Chart I, Figs. 8 & 12).[1458]

Unlike the *dastar* of the teachers, scholars and the poets, the *dastars* of the calligraphers were quite dissimilar to the headgear of the theologians(Chart I, Figs. 4, 10, 14 & 16). Only in a. few cases were they tied over a *kulah*(Chart I, Fig. 15).[1459] Surprisingly they are never shown wearing a *qaba*. Mostly depicted in the knee-long Mughal *jama*, *shalwar*, or trousers which were crinkled around and

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Bibliographical Survey and Comprehensive Catalogue (henceforth: *A Catalogue*), OUP, 1994, *sv.* Asi Kahar.

[1454] See for example, "Sa'di's Visit to Somnath", by Bishandas, *Bostan-i Sa'di*, Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, cf. Amina Okada, *op.cit.*, pl.185

[1455] "Two Students", attributed to Manohar, Nasli & Alice Heeranek Collection, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, New York, no.L.69.24.251, cf. Amina Okada, *op.cit.*, pl.164

[1456] For example, "A Learned Man", attributed to Basawan, cf. Brand & Lowry, *op.cit.*, pl.41

[1457] "Poetry Recital", cf.AJ Qaisar, *Indian Response to European Technology*, op.cit., pl.9; "Portrait of Muhammad Jam Qudsi", by Bichitr, *op.cit.*

[1458] "Poet & Listener", margin Painting by Govardhan in *Muraqqa-i Gulshan*, op.cit.; "Zafar Khan in the Company of Poets and Scholars", *op.cit.*

[1459] "Babur dictating his Memoirs to a scribe", unsigned, State Library, Rampur, cf. P.Brown, *op.cit.*, pl.V.

below the knees, they are, depicted with a *shawl* casually draping their shoulders.[1460] Like the nobility they could tie silken & brocaded *patkas.*[1461]

True to their profession, the calligraphers are depicted along with their long reed pens, pen-boxes, slates and sheets of paper.[1462]

Interestingly enough, the number of depictions of this Learned Class comprising of the Teachers, Scholars, poets and Calligrapher keeps declining from the reign of Shahjahan. It is only in the case of Calligraphers, that there is a rise during the reign of Jahangir over Akbar, only to decline to only two under Shahjahan. (See Table I, supra).

Medical Profession:

In Mughal India, like the other professions, we find the physician's profession had also gained prominence. Mughal Persian sources like *Ain-i-Akbari, Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh, Ma'asir-i Rahimi, Tabaqat-j Akbari, Padshahnama* of Lahori and the *Ma'asir-i Alamgiri* all point out the pre-eminence of the physicians. Abul Fazl, Nizamuddin Ahmad and Lahori while listing *ulema* and poets also enumerate the prominent physicians of their period.[1463] The Mughal Emperors appear to have taken considerable interest in patronising them. A sizeable number of these physicians were given service in various capacities and were also

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[1460] "Daulat painting Abdur Rahim *Ambarin Qalam*", *Khamsa-i Nizami,* Dyson-Perrins Collection, Malvern, BM. Or.12208, *f.*325 (b), cf. *Pageant of Indian Art (Catalogue of Festival of India in Great Britain),* ed. Saryu Doshi, Marg Pubn., Bombay, 1983, pl. 12; "Scribe Abdur Rahim al-Haravi & his helper", painted by Anant, *Anwar-i Suhaili,* Bharat Kala Bhawan, BHU, no.9069, *f.* 242, cf. SP Verma, "Miniatures of Anwar-i Suhaili", *Roop Lekha,* vol. 44, no.1-2, 1977, pl.170

[1461] "Scribe Mir Abdullah Katib at Work", attributed to Nanha, *Diwan-i Amir Hasan,* Art Gallery, Baltimore, pl. 6 (a), cf. AK Das, *Mughal Painting During Jahangir's Time,* Calcutta, 1978, pl. 8 (a); "Calligrapher and Painter", *Anwar-i Suhaili,* Colophon, Bharat Kala Bhawan, Banaras, *f.* 87 (a), cf. AK Das, *Ibid.,* pl.8 (b) etc.

[1462] "A Scribe", c.1625, Fogg Art Museum, cf. Amina Okada, *op.cit.,* pl.39; "Scribe Mir Abdullah *Mushkin Qalam*", attributed to Nanha, *op.cit.*; Margins of "Potrait of Saiyyid Hidayatullah *Sadr*", by Daulat, *Shahjahan Album,* Baron Maurice Rothschild Collection, Paris, cf. P.Brown, *op.cit., pl.*27. For a detailed discussion on the portraits of calligraphers see Verma, "Portraits of the Calligraphers depicted in the Mughal miniatures – A Historical Study", *Islamic Culture,* Hyderabad, vol.54, no.3, 1980, pp.175-6; and AK Das, "Calligraphers & Painters in early Mughal Paintings", *Chhavi,* II, Banaras.

[1463] For physicians, see Supra

sometimes assigned *mansabs* (see Table II).

Table II

Reign	Total Physicians	Those holding *Mansabs*	Depicted	Physicians who did not enjoy *mansabs*	Depicted
AKBAR	42	8	1	34	8
JAHANGIR	19	7	1	12	2
SHAHJAHAN	24	15	1	9	-

The Mughal miniatures too reflect their prosperity. Out of the total sixteen miniatures which I have been able to consult which depict the physicians, eight belong to the reign of Akbar.

TABLE III

Reign	Actual Portraits	Court	General	Bazar	Total Paintings
AKBAR	-	4	4	-	8
JAHANGIR	3	-	-	1	7
SHAHJAHAN	1	-	-	-	1

This tallies with the fact that, Akbar had the largest number of physicians under him. In the subsequent reigns their numbers probably declined, yet as far as their status is concerned it appears to have remarkably improved. Physicians like Muqarrab Khan, Alimuddin Wazir Khan and Muqarrab Khan rose to the *mansabs*

of 5000.[1464] Muqarrab Khan and Masihuzzaman were given important administrative assignment of the port-officer ship of Surat.[1465] And ultimately Muqarrab Khan rose to the position of the governor ship of Gujarat.[1466]

Mughal miniatures reflect this growing prosperity of the medical profession. Under Jahangir we find the depiction of this physician standing amongst the courtiers. He can be identified basically from an inscription "*shabih-i Muqarrab Khan*".[1467] In all the depictions he is shown wearing a white silken *dastar* (Chart I, Fig. 1) with a golden design. This attire is typical of a Mughal noble, with the exception that he is always shown wearing sober colours. Unlike him, the other physician-bureaucrat, Masihuzzaman khan is depicted donning a dress which is typical to the attire of the scholars and *ulema.*[1468]

The Mughal miniatures confirm the stray remark of Manucci that there was a hierarchical division amongst the physician serving the kings and the princes.[1469] In three or four miniatures, a chief physician is depicted tending the patient along with his sub-ordinate colleagues.[1470] The practice of setting private clinics in the *bazars* by the physicians also finds place in the Mughal miniatures. A miniature attributed randomly to Abul Hasan and pertaining to the reign of Jahangir depicts a physician

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[1464] Farid Bhakkari, *Zakhira tul Khawanin*, ed. Moin-ul Haque, Karachi, 1961-74, vol.I, pp.243 – 44; *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri*, ed., Saiyid Ahmad Khan, Ghazipur, 1863, vol.II, pp.37 – 59; Lahori, *Badshahnama*, ed. K.Ahmad & Abdur Rahman, Calcutta, 1867, vol.II, pp.724.

[1465] For Masihuzzaman and other *mutasaddis* of Surat, see supra

[1466] For Muqarrab Khan's biography, see supra.

[1467] "Jahangir Amongst his Courtiers", Victoria & Albert Museum, IM. 9 – 1925 cf. Ivan Stchoukine, *La Peinture Indienne A L'Epoque des Grands Moghols*, Paris, 1929, pl. xxviii; "Jahangir being offered food by Dervishes", *Jahangirnama*, Edward Binney 3rd Collection, San Diego, cf. AK Das, *Splendour of Mughal Painting*, Bombay, 1986, pl.V; "Jahangir holding his Court in a Garden", State Library, Rampur, no.1 / 5, cf. P.Brown, *op.cit.*, pl.65.

[1468] "Portrait of Hakim Sadra, Masiuz Zaman", signed by Mir Hashim, Folio of an Album, British Museum, Add. 18801, no.30, cf. P.Brown, *op.cit.*, pl.65

[1469] Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, tr. & Introdn., W.Irvine, Calcutta, 1966, vol.II, p.215

[1470] See "Babur stricken by illness in Samarqand", signed by Nama, *Baburnama*, BM. Or.3714, *f.*79 (a), cf. *Miniatures of Baburnama*, Samarqand, 1969, pl.8; "Doctors and Patient", signed by Mirza Ghulam, *Diwan-i Hasan Dehlavi*, Walter Arts Gallery, W.650, *f.* 127, cf. Amina Okada, *op.cit.*,pl.120; "One physician killing Another", signed by Miskina, *Khamsa-i Nizami*, BM. Or. 12208, (Dyson-Perrins Collection) *f.*23 (b) cf. Amina Okada, *op.cit.*,pll.143

sitting under a *shamiana* on a platform, and advising an old patient.[1471] All around the old physician (or was he just a druggist?) on the platform are displayed vials, bottles, jars, cups and bags containing a number of drugs, viz. *sufuf* (powder), *sharbats* (syrups) and '*arq* (medicinal liquid extracts). A number of books are at hand, as is a small mortar and pestle to mix the medicines. On one of the bottles is inscribed '*sharbat-i diq*' (syrup for consumption). Every bottle and bag is labelled. Behind the physician stands a boy, who probably acted as his assistant.

The physicians' attire under the Mughals appears to have resembled that of the religious classes: their *dastar* (Chart I, Figs. 11, 12, 13, 15, and 36) were heavy and circular in shape. Their *jamas* were shorter than those of the *mullas*, and were only upto the knees, and had (unlike the *jamas* of the religious classes) tight sleeves. The physicians are frequently shown wearing a shawl.

The perusal of the Mughal miniatures shows that the artist, to mark the presence of a physician, would always place nearby a mortar and a pestle to signify the mixing of the drugs. In most of these paintings a young man or a woman is depicted sitting preparing the medicines with this *ahandasta.*

The Mughal physicians, as we have earlier seen in another chapter, were also pharmacologists. Was the depiction of the preparation of medicines in the presence of the physicians diagnosing their patients due to this fact?

The profession of Nurses and Midwives is also mentioned in our sources. The statement of Fryer to the effect that the services of midwives and nurses were needed only by the rich[1472] is also partially supported by our paintings. The royal birth scenes

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[1471] "An Old Man Consults a Doctor", *Bostan-i Sa'di*, Aboulala Soudavar Collection, *f.*176r, cf. SC Welch, et. al., *The Emperor's Album: Images of Mughal India*, New York, 1987, fig.25

[1472] John Fryer, *A New Account of East India and Persia in Eight Letters Being Nine Years Travel Begun 1627 & Finished 1681*, Delhi, 1985, p.115

depict nurses and midwives.[1473] Their garb consisted of "'a long flowing dress from neck to ankles known as *peshwaz* and a *bhadar*. Sometimes they would also don a *kulah* (cap) like a Turkish cap (Chart I, Fig. 32).

Astrologers & Astronomers:

As seen in an earlier chapter, the profession of the astrologers and the astronomers was equally important. This profession has been much depicted in the Mughal miniatures.

In the 10 miniatures (out of which 8 belong to the reign of Akbar) pertaining to the theme, 19 astrologers have been depicted, three of whom are Hindus.[1474] Like the Muslim astrologers, they are shown wearing the *jama,* which however, was tied to the left, and a pair of tight fitted trousers. The *Dastars* of the Hindu astrologers was smaller in size (Chart I, Figs. 28, 29 & 38) than those of the Muslim astrologers, which were larger and heavier (Chart I, Figs.5, 11, 12, 13, 19 & 32). Interestingly one of the Hindu astrologers is depicted with a *tilak* on his forehead.[1475] Was he a brahmin? We know of two very famous Hindu astrologers of Akbar's court, Jotik Rai Nilkantha and Krishna Dwaijna.[1476] The same painting depicts two Hindu astrologers, one, an old man with the *tilak,* and the other, a young man. Are they Nilkantha and Krishna? If so, then who is the well dressed dark complexioned Hindu court-astrologer standing before 'Akbar, presenting the horoscope of Salim written in *devnagari* script?[1477] His dress betrays his high status and affinity to the court. Is he then the Jotik Rai of Akbar's Court?

[1473] "Rejoicings at the Birth of Salim", signed by Kesav Kalan & Dharamdas, *Akbarnama*, V & A, IS, 2 – 1896, no.117, pl. 78, cf. Geeti Sen, *Paintings from the Akbarnama*, Varanasi, 1984, pl.56, etc.

[1474] "News of Salim's birth brought to Akbar", signed by Kesav Kalan & Chitra, *Akbarnama*, V & A, IS – 2 – 1896, no.117, pl.79, cf. Geeti Sen, *op.cit.*, pl.3 & 58 (detail); "The Birth of Prince Khurram", attributed to Bishandas, *Jahangirnama*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Inv. 14. 657, cf. Amina Okada, *op.cit.*, pl.191.

[1475] "Birth of Prince Khurram", attributed to Bishandas, *op.cit.*

[1476] SR Sarma, "Astronomical Instruments in Mughal Miniatures", *op.cit.*, pp.256 – 57

[1477] "Akbar Receiving News of Salim's Birth", signed by Kesav Kalan & Chitra, *op.cit.*

As far as the Muslim astrologers are concerned, they resemble (as per the statements of Mundy) the theologians in their attire. In their case the sleeves of the *jama* were wide and they wore either a shawl or donned a *qaba* on top of it.

The "*bazar*" astrologers referred to by Manucci[1478] have been depicted by the Mughal painters as well. A miniature of the *Akhlaq-i Nasiri,* painted sometime between 1590-95 depicts a *bazar* scene, where an astrologer, just as in the case of the *bazar* physician, is seen sitting on a platform shielded by a *shamiana,* accompanied with the tools of his trade: a few books, a sand-clock, a box, and an astrolabe. Behind him stands his assistant, a young boy.[1479] He is surrounded by a predominantly female clientele. Just as the mortar and pestle of the physician, he announces his presence by the astrolabe on a tripod. His receipts by way of fee are stored in three small bags of money.

Another such astrologer is depicted by Govardhan, the painter of Shah Jahan. He is shown amidst a rural setting.[1480] Like the *bazar* astrologer, he sits in front of his hut consulting a book, surrounded by a rural clientele. His astronomical instruments – an astrolabe, an inkpot, a globe and a sand clock – are strewn all around.

A few representations of astronomers too are to be found in our paintings. Just like their astrologer friends, the astronomers too are depicted along with their instruments: the sand-clock, the books, the astrolabe and, most importantly the ring dial.[1481] Basically depicted aboard vessels[1482], the astronomers wear the long flowing

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[1478] Manucci, *op.cit.*, I, p.205.

[1479] "Bazar Astrologer with his Clients", *Akhlaq-i Nasiri,* Prince Sadruddin Agha Khan Collection, Museum Rietzberg, Zurich, cf. SR Sarma, "Astronomical Instruments", *op.cit.*,pl.10

[1480] "Astrologer and the Holy Men", Govardhan, *Shahjahan Album*, Musee Guimet, Paris, MA2471, cf. Amina Okada, *op.cit.*, pl. 224.

[1481] See for example "An Astronomer", on a margin of *Jahangir's Album*, Naprtek, Prague, cf. SR Sarma, "Astronomical Instruments", *op.cit.*, pl. 8

[1482] "Babur, proceeding in a Convoy of Boats is presented with a Fish", signed by Miskin & Shankar, *Baburnama*, Keir Collection, Pontresina, V.43, cf. BW Robinson, *Islamic painting and the Arts of the Book (The Keir Collection)*, London, 1976, pl.34; "Babur's Boats", signed by Khem, *Baburnama*,

jama with full sleeves and *dastars* (Chart I, Figs. 13, 21, 30 & 36).

Architects & Engineers:

Another 'middle-class' profession which was of consequence was that of the architects and engineers. The hectic building construction activity under the Mughals is beyond dispute. Apart from the royalty and the nobility, the members of the lower social groups like petty bureaucrats, who otherwise kept on complaining of paucity of money and office, are also credited with having taken an active interest in building their houses at large expenses.[1483] Abul Fazl devoted a full *ain* on the building establishment,[1484] yet no Mughal source, be it Abul Fazl himself, Khwand Amir, Badauni, Nizamuddin Ahmad, or Lahori, mention the name of Mughal architect, as had been done in the case of the scholars, physicians and poets.[1485] A perusal of our sources point out that the work of building construction was headed by an officer who supervised the construction of a building or an edifice, known as *Mir-i Imarat.* Below him in the hierarchy was the chief-architect, the *saramad- i me' maran* who was sometimes simply called *me'mar.* Under him were the masons *(me 'mars)* and other master-craftsmen. Another very important professional involved in the building construction activity was the *Naqshanawis* or the Plan drawer.[1486]

Our Mughal miniatures offer a faithful record the presence of these professionals. In a number of paintings depicting the construction activity is depicted a well-attired individual, usually on a raised platform and flanked by attendants and

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Samarqand, 1969, pl.31; "Noah's Ark", attributed to Miskin, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington DC, no.48.8. cf. SC Welch, *Imperial Mughal Painting,* London, 1978, pl.9.

[1483] See for example, Bayazid Bayat, *Tazkira-i Humayun wa Akbar,* ed. Hidayat Hosein, Calcutta, 1941, pp. 375, 376; Surat Singh, *Tazkira-i Pir Hassu Taili,* MS. Research Library, Department of History, AMU, *ff.* 176 (a), 181 (b); Bhimsen, *Nuskha-i Dilkusha,* MS. BM. Or. 23 (Rotograph, Deptt.of History, AMU), *f.* 24 (b) etc.

[1484] *Ain-i Akbari,* Nawal Kishore, vol.I, '*ain-i imarat*', p.117.

[1485] See Ahsan J Qaisar, *Building Construction in Mughal India,* op.cit.; See also Chapter on Architect and Engineers, *supra*

[1486] See *supra*

horses.[1487] He is the supervisor of construction, the *Mir-i Imarat.* His attire resembles that of the nobility: a colourful full-sleeved *jama,* embroidered silken *patka,* a long scarf or thin *shawl* and a *dastar* (Chart I, Figs. 1 & 3).

In almost all the miniatures dealing with building construction, are depicted men with long sticks giving instructions to the various craftsmen. They wear knee-length *jama,* embroidered silken *patka,* trousers and shoes. Wherever a group of stone cutters, masons or labourers are doing a job, this ubiquitous man keeps a watchful eye. He appears to be the over-seer or supervisor of construction activity, reference to whom is missing in the written records. Some paintings dealing with building construction depict another professional whose status appears in the paintings to be higher than that of the overseer and lower to that of the *Mir-i Imarat.* He is always near to the site of hectic activity either taking down notes[1488] or explaining a, point to the visiting dignitary verbally[1489] or with the help of a graph.[1490] At other times this person is also depicted as just standing or giving directions to the overseer.[1491] His *dastar* (Chart I, Figs.5 & 35) was less ostentatious than that of the *mir-i imarat,* but would sometimes resemble that of the higher classes (Chart I, Figs. 31 & 39). This person was perhaps the chief architect.

The importance and affluence of architects and engineers can thus be deduced from their portrayal in Mughal miniatures. Fully clothed from head to foot they

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[1487] "Building of the City of Fathpur", signed by Balchand, *Akbarnama*, Chester Beatty Library, *ff.*152 – 53, cf. Arnold & Wilkinson, *The Library of A .Chester Beatty: A Catalogue of Indian Miniatures, London,* 1936, vol. II, pl.24; "Construction of Hathipol at Fathpur Sikri", signed by Tulsi & Bhawani, *Akbarnama*, V & A, IS – 2 – 1896, no.117, pl. 86, cf. Amina Okada, *op.cit.,* pl. 15

[1488] "Building of the Agra Fort", (II part) signed by Miskin & Tulsi Khwurd, *Akbarnama*, V & A, IS – 2 – 1896, cf. Geeti Sen, *op.cit.,* pl. 31

[1489] "Akbar Supervises the Construction of Fathpur Sikri", signed by Tulsi, Bandi & Madhav Khwurd, *Akbarnama*, V & A, IS – 2 – 1896, no.117, pl. 91, cf. Geeti Sen, *op.cit.,* pl.61; "Construction of a Tomb near Khoja Sih Yaran Spring near Kabul", signed by Mahesh, *Baburnama*, BM. Or. 3714, *f.* 180 (b), cf. *Miniatures of Baburnamah*, Samarqand, 1969, pl. 14

[1490] "Babur Supervising work in Bagh-i Wafa Garden", signed by Bishandas & Nanha, *Baburnama*, V & A, IM. 276 – 1913, cf. Hambly, *Cities of Mughal India: Delhi, Agra and Fatehpur Sikri,* London, 1977, pl. 20

[1491] "Building of a Palace", V & A, no. 1995 – 1965; "Construction of a Building", *Jam'ut Tawarikh,* Imperial Library, Teheran, cf. AJ Qaisar, *Building Construction,* op.cit, pl. 5 & 7.

appear to have had a fairly high status in society.

These Mughal miniatures also show us the various master-craftsmen involved in the building work. From these depictions, it appears that the *naqqash* (carver) had a superior position to that of a *sahakar* (plain-stone cutter).[1492] A *sadahkar* is mostly depicted wearing a crude turban, a short *jama* and short trousers,[1493] while a *naqqash* is shown wearing a more elaborate turban (Chart I, Fig. 4), a longer *jama* and a whole-length pair of trousers.[1494] They are also sometimes shown wearing shoes, which may determine a degree of respectability over the lower goups involved in building work.

Another category of craftsmen involved in the construction activity was that of the iron smiths, whose position in society appears to have been the same as that of the *naqqash*. Like him they wear a turban (Chart I, Figs. 6 & 7), a long *jama* and trousers. But unlike the attire of the *naqqash*, the shoes are conspicuous by their absence.[1495]

Painters:

Much impetus was provided to the performing arts under the Mughals. It was during the reign of Akbar that two important fields – painting and music – were given a new meaning and import.

Although nothing is known about the presence or absence of painters under Babur, it was during the reign of Humayun that attention started being paid to recruiting accomplished painters to the Mughal Court.[1496] For his reign we get the names of six painters. During Akbar's reign, the number rose steeply to about 260,[1497]

[1492] *Ain-i Akbari*, op.cit., p.117
[1493] See for example, "Building of the Agra Fort", (I & II part), cf. Geeti Sen, *op.cit.*, pls. 31 & 32.
[1494] *Ibid.*, see also, "Construction of Hathipol", signed by Tulsi and Bhawani, cf. Amina Okada, *op.cit.*, pl. 15
[1495] "Alexander the great building an iron wall across Caucasus against the people of Gog and Magogs", *Khamsa-i Nizami*, BM. Or. 1982, pl. 57
[1496] Bayazid Bayat, *op.cit.*, pp. 67 – 69, 176 - 87
[1497] See SP Verma, *Mughal Painters and their work*, op.cit., p. 24.

56 % of whom were Hindus (See Table IV below). In the subsequent reigns, the total number of the members of this class recruited by the Mughal state kept on declining. This in no way would mean a decline in the members of this professional group in the Mughal Society.

Table IV

Reign	Actual Painters	Total Depicted	Total Hindus	Hindus Depicted	Total Muslims	Muslim Depicted
Humayun	6	-	-	-	6	-
Akbar	260	11	145	2	115	5
Jahangir	84	9	43	6	41	3
Shahjahan	35	4	17	4	18	-
Aurangzeb	12	-	8	-	4	-

A sizeable number of this group earned its livelihood in the private ateliers established by the by the Mughal nobles. By the latter half of the 17th Century, the *bazar* painters who were self-employed begin to be noticed.[1498] Even during the reign of Akbar it appears that these painters would attract clients to their place of work to have their portraits drawn. Thus a miniature preserved in State Library, Berlin, depicts two anonymous painters at work and an old man of high birth walking away after being provided with his portrait made by these painters.[1499]

The painters who were recruited by the Mughal state were paid regular monthly salaries. According to Abul Fazl:

[1498] Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, ed. S. Sen, New Delhi, 1949, pp. 55, 65; Bernier, *Travels in the Mughal Empire, 1656 – 58*, tr. A. Constable & Smith, London, 1968, pp. 254 – 55.
[1499] "Artists at Work", Berlin Album, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, cf. SC Welch, *India: Art and Culture*, Ahmadabad, 1988, pl. 105.

The work of all painters is weekly laid before His Majesty by the *Daroghas* and the clerks; he then confers rewards according to excellence of workmanship, or increases the monthly salaries.[1500]

These salaried state painters, apart from illustrating books commissioned by their benefactors, were also required to be present in private gatherings to record the events visually for posterity.[1501] The importance of this class can be gauged from the fact that they were sometimes ordered by the Emperor to include their self-portraits on the colophon.[1502] Sometimes, the painters could also be allowed to enter the *haram*.[1503] The art of painting was not an exclusive male profession. Nadira Banu, Sahifa Banu and Ruqaiya Banu are known to have painted during the reigns of Akbar and Jahangir. Accordingly, a folio from *Khamsa-i Nizami* depicts a woman painter busy making a self portrait.[1504]

It is interesting to note that although the percentage of Hindu painters fell from 56% under Akbar to 51% under Jahangir, the number of portraits of Hindu nobles rose to 6 out of 9 from 2 out of 11 paintings. In the reign of Shahjahan the strength of the Hindu painters was about half (48.6%). Yet all the four painters depicted were Hindus. No portrait of a Muslim painter from the reign of Shajahan survives or been so identified.

From the 24 or so portraits and self portraits of the painters it appears that there was not much marked difference between the dress of the Hindu and Muslim

[1500] Abu'l Fazl, *Ain-i Akbari*, op.cit., p. 116
[1501] "Zafar Khan with poets and scholars while artist takes their likeness", *Masnawi* of Zafar khan, Royal Asiatic Society, London, MS. Pers. 310 (dted. AD 1662 – 63), *ff.* 19 (b) & 20 (a), cf. Amina Okada, *op.cit.*, pl.194.
[1502] See inscription on the miniature, "Daulat Painting the portrait of the Calligraphist Abdur Rahim *Ambarin Qalam*", *Khamsa-i Nizami*, Dyson-Perrins Collection, Malvern, BM. Or. 12208, *f.* 325 (b), cf. Amina Okada, *op.cit.*, pl. 2; See also "Manohar & Muhammad Husain Kashmiri", *Gulistan-i Sa'di*, Royal Asiatic Society, London, No. 258, *f.* 128, cf. Amina Okada, *op.cit.*, pl. 155.
[1503] "A Princess examines a Portrait", (Akbari), Bodlein Library, Pers. 61, *f.* 23 (b) cf. Ivan Stchoukine, *A L'Epoque des Moghols*, op.cit., pl. VII
[1504] "The Lady Paints a Self-Portrait while her attendant faces her holding the Mirror", (Akbari), *Khamsa-i Nizami*, BM. Or. 12208, *f.* 206 (a), cf. AJ Qaisar, *The Indian Response*, op.cit., pl. 7 (a).

painters. Almost all of them wore *dastars* (Chart I, Figs. 1-9), long *jamas*, full trousers, a *patka*, which could be single or embroidered, and a shawl. It is only in the case of Kesavdas that the dress is irregular. The painter in this portrait wears a *dhoti* and a shawl draping his naked shoulders and torso.[1505] He was, we are informed, a *kahar* by birth.

These Mughal painters were recruited not just to illustrate the books and paint the court scenes and important occasions, but would also execute wall paintings. A large number of Akbari and Jahangiri wall paintings survive on the walls of Fathpur sikri, Aram Bagh (Agra), and the Lahore Fort. At least two Mughal painters, Abdus Samad[1506] and Daswant[1507] were accomplished in painting on the walls. A miniature preserved in Clive Album records this fact for us.[1508]

The Mughal painter was helped in his endeavour by paper makers, scribes, and a number of apprentices.[1509]

Musicians:[1510]

As far as the musicians are concerned, they are depicted mostly in the court scenes or in the company of the princes and dervishes. They are shown wearing a *dastar* (Chart I, Figs. 1, 8 & 12), a long *jama* and the *patka*. From their dress it appears that they can be divided into two categories; the ordinary musician, who dressed like a soldier or a *naqqash*, and those who were highly placed in the court

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[1505] "Akbar, a noble and the Painter himself", signed Kesavdas, *Jahangir's Album*, State Library,. Berlin, *f.* 25 (a), cf. SP Verma, *Mughal Painters*, op.cit., pl. xxxv.
[1506] Farid Bhakkari, *Zakhirat ul Khawanin*, ed. Moinul Haq, Karachi, 1961, vol.I, p.87; Shahnawaz Khan, *Ma'asir-ul Umara*, ed. Abdur Rahim & Ashraf Ali, Calcutta, 1891, vol.II, 628; Abu'l Fazl, *Ain-i Akbari*, op.cit., p. 117.
[1507] Abu'l Fazl, *Ain-i Akbari*, op.cit., p. 117.
[1508] "Mughal Painter executing a wall painting", *Clive Album*, V & A, IS-48-1956, cf. AJ Qaisar, *Building Construction*, op.cit., pl. 9.
[1509] "Akbar's Atelier", *Akhlaq-i Nasiri*, MS. 39, *f.* 19 (a), Prince Sadruddin Agha Khan Collection, Rietzberg Museum, Zurich, cf. Brand & Lowry, *Akbar's India*, op.cit., pl. 19
[1510] See Chapter 7 for more details

who would then fashion themselves like a noble.[1511] Like the other professionals they were always depicted with their instruments of profession.

Mercantile Classes:

The last, but not the least important middle class profession depicted in the Mughal miniatures is that of the merchant. While rejecting the existence of a middle class in the Mughal Empire, Moreland had made an exception so far as the 'mercantile class' was concerned., which he grudgingly accepted to be in existence.[1512] W.C. Smith too had mainly concerned himself with the merchants while argueing the case of the middle classes. To him the mercantile middle class could survive only in a region which was given peace and tranquillity. The politico – administrative unification under the Mughals gave a spurt in the construction of roads and *sarais*. The developments would have been "applauded the most" by the merchants.[1513] This thesis of Smith finds support from two Mughal miniatures. The first of these depicts Humayun returning to the merchants goods which were plundered by the troops of Mirza Kamran.[1514] It depicts the conditions of the state during a political turmoil. The second painting belongs to the period of peace, when *sarais* had been constructed to ensure safety and proper resting place for the merchants in transit.[1515]

Most of the miniatures pertaining to merchants depict the peddlers, petty shopkeepers and town shops.

[1511] See for example the portraits of Tansen in the Chrysler Museum, Norfolk, Virginia, and National Museum, New Delhi (50, 14 /28), cf. Brand & Lowry, *Akbar's India*, op.cit., pl. 55.
[1512] W. H. Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar – an Economic Study*, London, 1925, pp. 26 – 27.
[1513] W.C Smith, "The Mughal Empire and the Middle Classes", *op.cit.*
[1514] Painting signed by Miskin, *Akbarnama*, BM. Or. 12988, *f.* 120 (b), cf. S.P. Verma, *Mughal Painters & their Work*, op.cit., *s.v.*, Miskin, no. 46.
[1515] "Merchants asking for room in *sarai*", *Darabnama*, BM. Or. 4615, *f.* 93 (b), cf. S.P. Verma, *Mughal Painters & their Work*, op.cit., *s.v.*, Farrukh Chela, no. 8.

Table V

Reign	Peddlers	Village Shopkeepers	Town Shopkeepers	Whole-Sellers	Miscallaneous	Total
Akbar	3	-	3	2	4	12
Jahangir	-	1	1	-	2	4
Shahjahan	-	-	2	-	-	2
Aurangzeb	-	-	1	-	-	1

A very interesting miniature depicting a rural market shows that a village shop could be looked after by women.[1516] This painting depicts a man being enticed on the one hand by the female sweetmeat seller and on the other by a fish-monger with a basket full of fish. The milk from the village dairy is also being sold by female members of the family. The miniature reminds us of any actual present-day village mart.

The petty peddlers under the Mughal very much resembled the present day *khwanche walas* (hawkers), with their pair of scales, baskets and bags who can now be found near the construction sites.[1517]

These peddling merchants would move from place to place with the Mughal encampments as well.[1518] Mughal miniatures depict wholesalers as well, who would carry their goods on bullocks and camels. They wore knee-length *jamas* tied in place with a simple *patka*. The *dastar* was worn by almost all of them (Chart I, Figs.4 &

[1516] "Two travelers buying food in a village", signed by Meodas, BM., Oriental Antiquities, no.1920-9-17-0255, cf. Pinder-Wilson, *Paintings from the Muslim Courts of India,* reprodn. No.76; see also S.P. Verma, *Mughal Painters & their Work*, op.cit., *s.v.*, Meodas

[1517] "Building of the Agra Fort", (Part I), signed by Miskina & Sarwan, *Akbarnama*, VA, IS-2-1896, no. 117, Geeti Sen, *op.cit.*, pl. 45.

[1518] "Babur inspecting Encampment", *Baburnama,* National Museum, New Delhi, no. 50. 326, *f.*205, cf. Rai Krishnadasa, *Mughal Miniatures,* Lalit Kala Academy, 1955, pl.2; "Babur sitting on an Earthen Platform erected in the Middle of Kutila Lake", signed by Pidarath, *Baburnama*, BM. Or. 3714, *f.* 459 (a). cf. *Miniatures of Baburnama*, op.cit., pl. 28.

14).[1519]

The representation of town *bazaars* and its shopkeepers is more common (See Table V) and is represented in the works of the reigns of Akbar, Jahangir, Shahjahan and Aurangzeb. Two miniatures from the reign of Akbar depict the famous *chaharsuq bazar* and the market near the Hathipol at Fathpur Sikri.[1520] As has been confirmed from the surveys and excavations at Fathpur Sikri, the Mughal shops comprised of two parts – a verandah and a small chamber constructed behind it.[1521] From these miniatures, and the one depicting the market near the city wall of Delhi,[1522] it appears that the merchants-shopkeepers sat and displayed their wares on the verandah. The chamber was used as a store-room.[1523] The *bazar* shopkeepers could also sit on a platform with a canopy.[1524] These shopkeepers in the town markets were better dressed than their peddler cousins. They wore full *jama*, trousers, *patka* and *dastars* (Chart I, Figs. 5, 6 & 8) which were more ornate in pattern and style.

Another group from the mercantile class, which have been depicted, is that of the lapidaries, jewellers, and cloth and glass manufacturers. They resembled to a large extent the master-craftsmen and master masons depicted in scenes of building construction. Being a class above the ordinary craftsmen, they are depicted wearing

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1519 "Traders of Kand-i Badam", signed by Bhura, *Baburnama*, BM. Or. 3714, *f.* 6 (b), cf. *Miniatures of Baburnamah*, Samarqand, op.cit., pl. 3; "A Market Scene at Kand-i Badam", signed by Surdas, *Baburnama*, National Museum, New Delhi, no. 50.326, pl. 1, *f.* 4 (a), cf. M.S. Randhawa, *Paintings of the Baburnama*, New Delhi, 1983, pl. I.

1520 "Building of theCity of Fathpur", signed by Balchand, *Akbarnama*, Chester Beatty Library, *ff.*152 – 53, cf. Arnold & Wilkinson, *op.cit.*, pl. 24; "Rejoicing at Akbar's return to Fathpur Sikri", (II part), signed by Kesav & Jagjiwan, *Akbarnama*, VA, IS-2-1896, no.117, pl.111, cf.Brand and Lowry, *op.cit.*, pl. 3 (a).

1521 See SAN Rezavi, "Bazars and Markets at Fathpur Sikri", *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Bhopal, 2001

1522 "Attempted assassination of Akbar in 1563", signed by Jagan, Bhawani & Madhav, *Akbarnama*, VA, IS-2-1896, no. 117, pl.33, cf. Geeti Sen, *op.cit.*, pl.27.

1523 See also "Scene of a City Gate", signed by Aqa Riza, *Jahangir's Album*, State Library, Berlin, *f.* 14 (a), cf. Kuhnle & Goetze, *op.cit.*, pl.1; "Blind Pilgrim Procuring food from a Confectioner's shop near the Dargah at Ajmer", Signed by Hashim, Wantage Collection, VA, IM-131-1921, cf. S.P.Verma, *Mughal Painters and their Work*, op.cit., pl.xxii

1524 See for example, "Making of Sherbet", *Jahangir's Album*, State Library, Berlin, *f.* 21 (b), cf. Kuhnle & Goetze, *op.cit.*, pl. 19. See also the " Bazar Physician" and the "Bazar Astrologer", *op.cit.*

dastars (Chart I, Figs. 4, 5, 12, 13, & 34), long flowing *jamas*, and full trousers. They can be identified through the depiction of their various tools of the trade.

*

From the above survey it appears that the representatives of the urban middle classes can only be identified with the work which they are depicted doing in our paintings. The work itself gets a meaning only through the placement of material objects needed for their profession. Thus a physician is shown with his mortar and pestle. The architect through his appearance in the middle of a construction site; an astrologer with his astrolabe, water or sand clock; a painter with his brush and colour-plates; the scribe and calligrapher with their pen and paper and so on.

Further, a comparative study of the depiction of the nobility (See S.P.Verma, *Material Culture*, op.cit.) and that of the urban middle classes hints towards an independent character of the latter. They dressed in very utilitarian clothing, and were much more attached to their profession than to ostentatious show-off.

Yet interestingly enough, they never seem to unduly assert themselves. It must be pointed out that in spite of the fact that quite a few of them, like Fathullah Shirazi, Hakim Ali Gilani, Virji Vora, Santidas Sahu, Ustad Ahmad *Me'mar* left their permanent mark on Mughal society, economy and culture, yet they never appear to have patronized the artists and painters for their own portraiture as the nobles had done. Even if depicted, the members of this class always appear not in a central position but on periphery and margins. This class had thus not yet developed to the extent as their counter parts in European societies during the sixteenth and seventeenth Centuries.

Table VI

S. No.	Theme	Total Paintings	Akbar	Jahangir	Shahjahan	Aurangzeb
1	Teachers	12	7	5	-	-
2	Scholars	25	14	7	4	-
3	Calligraphers / Scribes	15	5	8	2	-
4	Poets	12	5	4	3	-
5	Physicians	16	8	7	1	-
6	Nurses	5	4	1	-	-
7	Astrologers	10	8	1	1	-
8	Astronomers	5	4	1	-	-
9	Architects / Building Supttds.	18	16	2	-	-
10	Painters	22	11	7	4	-
11	Musicians	30	15	8	7	-
12	Master craftsmen	12	6	5	1	-
13	Mercantile Classes	19	12	4	2	1
14	Religious Classes	113	36	40	36	1

Chart 1: Dastārs

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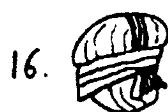
11. 

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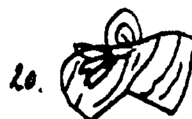
15. 

16. 

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21. 

Dastārs (Cont.)

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23. 

24. 

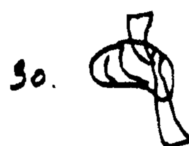
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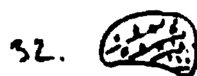
27. 

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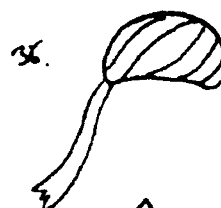
31. 

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39. 

Photo Plates



1. "A School Master and Pupil", c. 1585
Pvt. Colln. Cf. Brand & Lowry, *Akbar's India*, pl.42



2. "A Student and His Teacher", c. 1610, (margin), Govardhan
Muraqqa of Jahangir, Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, Ms. 117 *f*.25 (b)
Cf. Amina Okada, Amina Okada, *Imperial Mughal Painters,*, Pl.232



3. “A Scribe”, c. 1625
Fogg Art Museum, Cf. S.C.Welch, *Imperial Mughal Painting*, pl. 29



4. A Scholar, c. 1565-70, Mir Saiyid Ali
Mus e Guimet, Paris,
Cf. Amina Okada, Amina Okada, *Imperial Mughal Painters,* p.1



5. "Learned Man Meditating on a book", c.1570-80, Mir Saiyid Ali
Mus e Guimet, Paris,
Cf. Amina Okada, Amina Okada, *Imperial Mughal Painters,* Pl.70



6. "A Learned Man", c.1575-80, Basawan
Cf. Brand & Lowry, *Akbar's India*, Pl.41



7. “A Poet, *Tambura* Player & a Prince”, 17th C.
Cf. J.Qaisar, *The Indian Response to European Technology and Culture*, Pl. 9



8. “Poet & Listeners”, c. 1610, Govardhan
Muraqqa of Jahangir (Margin)
Nasli & A.Heermaneck Colln., Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Inv.M.78.9.11r
Cf. Amina Okada, Amina Okada, *Imperial Mughal Painters,* Pl.231



9. “Zafar Khan in the Company of Poets & Scholars”, c.1640, Bishandas
Masnawi of Zafar Khan, Ms. Raas Loan 3, *f.* 25 v & 26 r
Cf. Amina Okada, Amina Okada, *Imperial Mughal Painters,* Pl. 194



10. Calligrapher Abdur Rahim & Painter Daulat, c. 1595
Ms.*Khamsa* of Nizami, Daulat (detail), British Library, London: Note the tools
Losty, *The Pageant of Indian Art,* Pl.12



11. Manohar the Painter & Mohd Husain Kashmiri *Zarrin Qalam*, the scribe,
c. 1581, Manohar, Ms. *Gulshan-i Sa'di*
India Office Library, London
Cf. Amina Okada, Amina Okada, *Imperial Mughal Painters,* Pl. 155



12. “School Scene” Teacher with his pupil
c. 1595, *Khamsa* of Nizami, *f.* 98, Walter Art Gallery, Baltimore
Cf. Godden, *Gulbdan: A Portrait of a Rose Princess*, p.37



13. “Akbar’s Atelier”, c. 1590-95
Akhlaq-i Nasiri, Prince Agha Khan Colln. Ms.39, *f.*196 (a),
Rietzberg Museum, Zurich , Cf. Cf. Amina Okada, *Imperial Mughal Painters,* Pl.3



14. Detail of No.13: Master Painter & Apprentice



15. Detail of No.13: Portrait Maker & Scribe



16. Detail of No.13: An Apprentice Painter



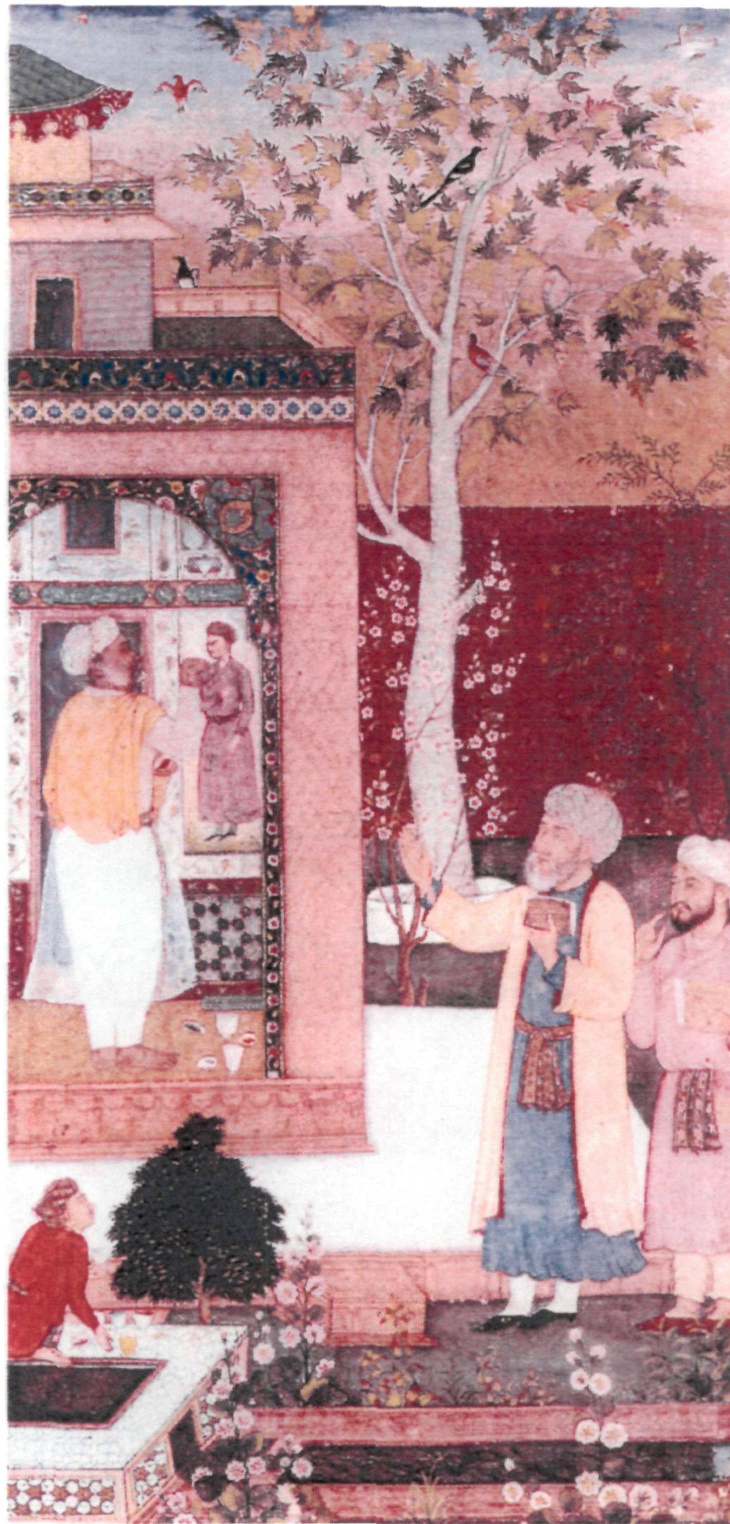
17. "Artists at Work", c.1585
Berlin Album, Ms. 117, *f.* 21 r, Staatsbibliotheck, Berlin
Cf. Amina Okada, *Imperial Mughal Painters,* Pl. 4



18. Painter Kesu Das Kalan, Self-Portrait, c.1570 (detail)
Williams College Museum of Art, Williamstown, Massachusetts
Cf. Amina Okada, *Indian Pictures of the Mughal Court*, pl.97



19. A Painter, detail from"Zafar Khan in the Company of Poets & Scholars", c.1640, Bishandas, *Masnawi* of Zafar Khan, Ms. Raas Loan 3, *f.* 25 v & 26 r
Cf. Amina Okada, Amina Okada, *Imperial Mughal Painters,* Pl. 194



20. "An artist at work on a wall painting" c. 1600-10
'Small Clive Album', IS 48-1956, f, 56a, Victoria and Albert Museum, London
Cf. Susan Stronge, *Painting for the Mughal Emperor*



21. "Birth of a Prince", c. 1610-15, Bishandas
Astrologers and Astronomers make the horoscope of the Prince
Jahangirnama, Inv.14.657, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
Cf. Amina Okada, *Imperial Mughal Painters,* Pl. 141



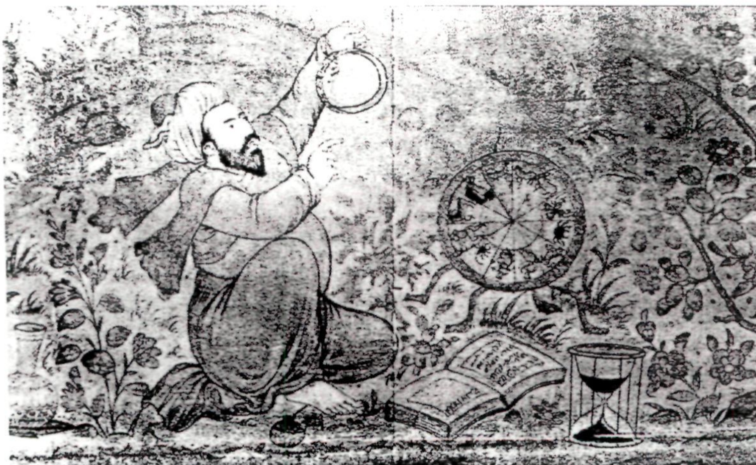
22. "Birth of Prince Murad",(detail)
Bhura & Basawan, *Akbarnama*, VA, IS. 2-1896, no.117, pl.80
Cf. SR Sarma, "Astronomical Instruments in Mughal Miniatures", in Inge Wezler (ed.), *Studies zur Indologie und Iranistk*, Pl. 1a



23. "Babur's Boats", Khem
Baburnama, Tashkent
cf. *Miniatures of Baburnama*, Samarqand, Pl.31



24. "Noah's Ark", c.1590, Miskin (detail)
Astronomer on the boat
Freer Gallery of Art, no.48.8, Washington DC
Cf. SC Welch, *Imperial Mughal Painting*, Pl.9



25. "Astronomer with ringed dial & sand-glass", c.1610
Margin painting, *Jahangir's Album,* Naprstek Museum, Prague
Cf. SR Sarma, "Astronomical Instruments in Mughal Miniatures", in Inge Wezler (ed.), *Studies zur Indologie und Iranistk*, Pl. 8



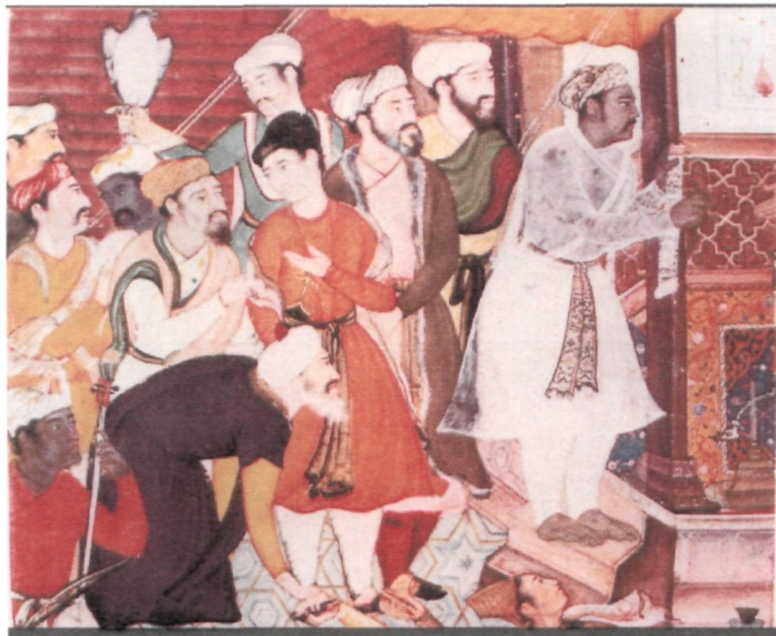
26. “Astrologer in a rural setting”, c.1630
Govardhan, *Late Shahjahan Album,* MA.2471, Mus e Guimet, Paris
Cf. Amina Okada, *Imperial Mughal Painters,* Pl. 224



27. “Bazar Astrologer with his clients (detail), c.1590-95
Akhlaq-i Nasiri, Prince Agha Khan Colln., Museum Rietzberg, Zurich
Cf. SR Sarma, “Astronomical Instruments in Mughal Miniatures”, in Inge Wezler (ed.), *Studies zur Indologie und Iranistk*, Pl. 10



28. "Birth of Salim"
Astrologers and Astronomers with instruments and almanacs
Cf. SR Sarma, "Astronomical Instruments in Mughal Miniatures", in Inge Wezler (ed.), *Studies zur Indologie und Iranistk*, Pl. 4



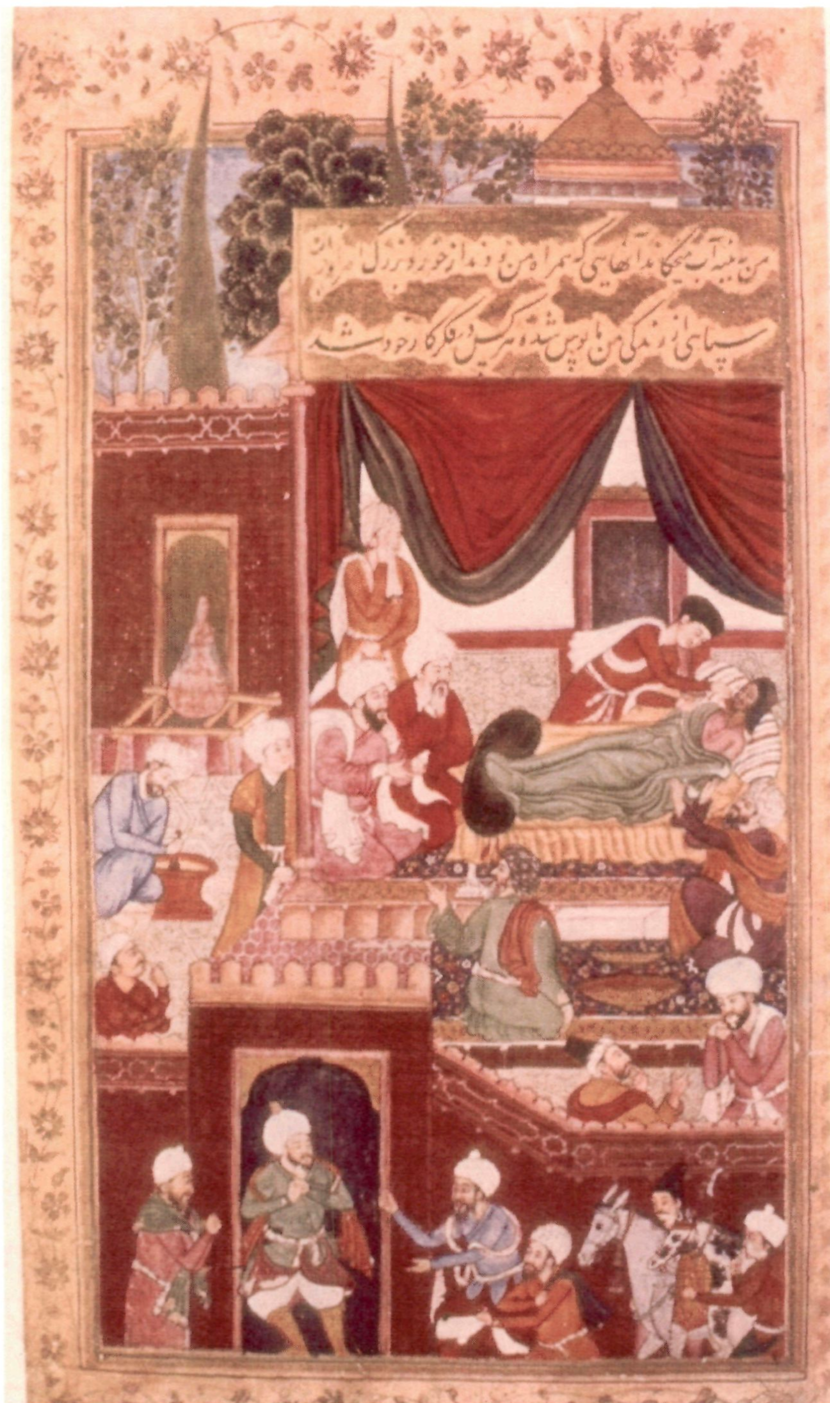
29. "Astrologer Chand conveys news of Salim's birth to Akbar" (detail)
Kesu Kalan & Chitra, *Akbarnama,* IS.2/1896, 79/117
Cf. Geeti Sen, *Paintings from the Akbarnama*, Pl.3



30. "Bazar Physician", c. 1610-11
Abul Hasan, *Bustan-i Sa'adi,* f. 176 r, Aboulala Soudavar Colln.
Cf. SC Welch, *Emperor's Album,* fig.25



31. Physicians tends to a patient, c. 1602-3, Mirza Ghulam
Diwan-Hasan Dihlavi, W-650, *f.* 127, Walter Art Gallery, Baltimaore
Cf. Amina Okada, *Imperial Mughal Painters,* Pl. 120



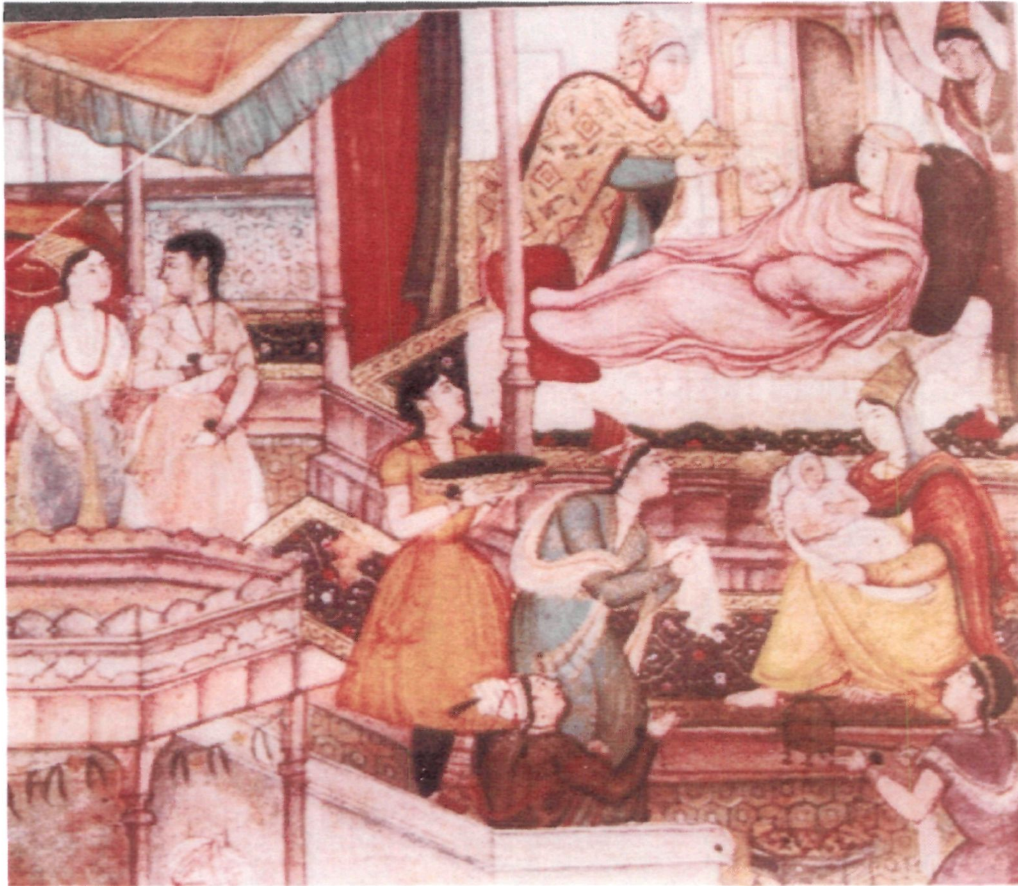
32. "Babur being treated by Physicians", Nama
Baburnama, BM., Or.3714, *f.* 70 a
cf. *Miniatures of Baburnama*, Samarqand, Pl. 16



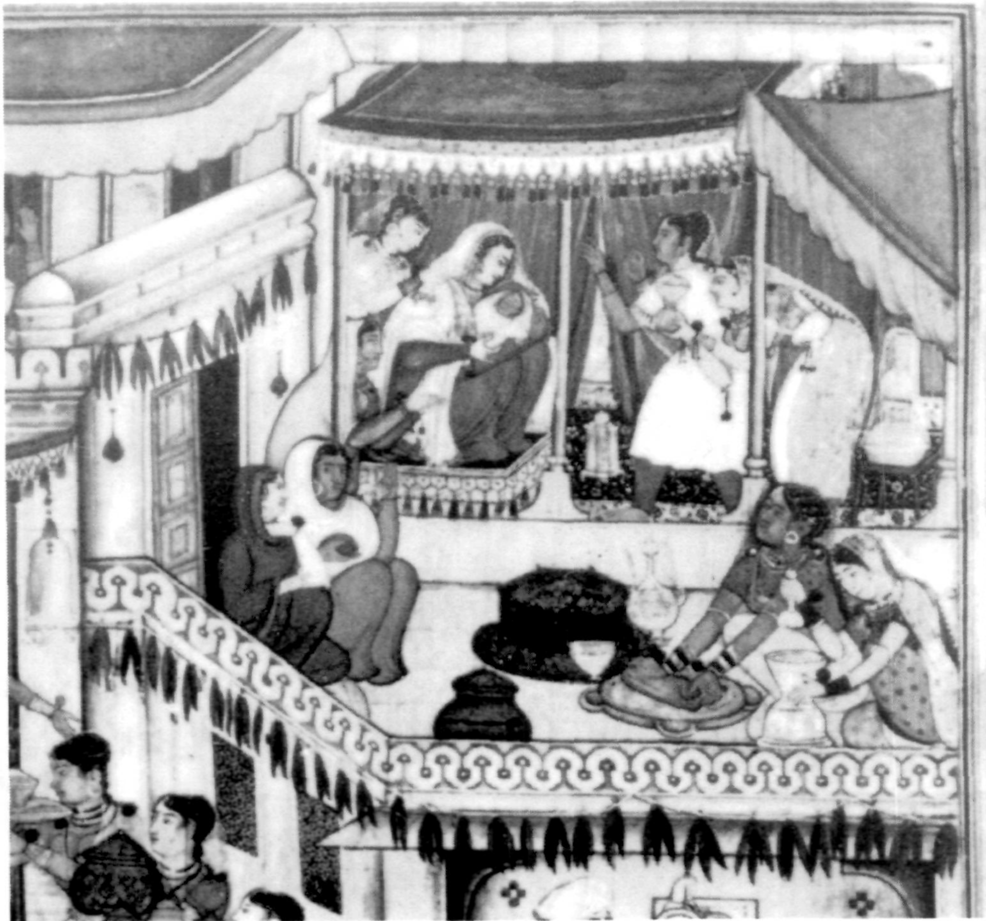
33. "Muzmahil being treated by Sorcerers in the guise of physicians", c.1562-77
Mahesh (?), *Hamzanama*, illustr. No. 84, Bk.xi, Brooklyn Museum,24.29
Cf. Brand & Lowry, *Akbar's India*, Pl.12



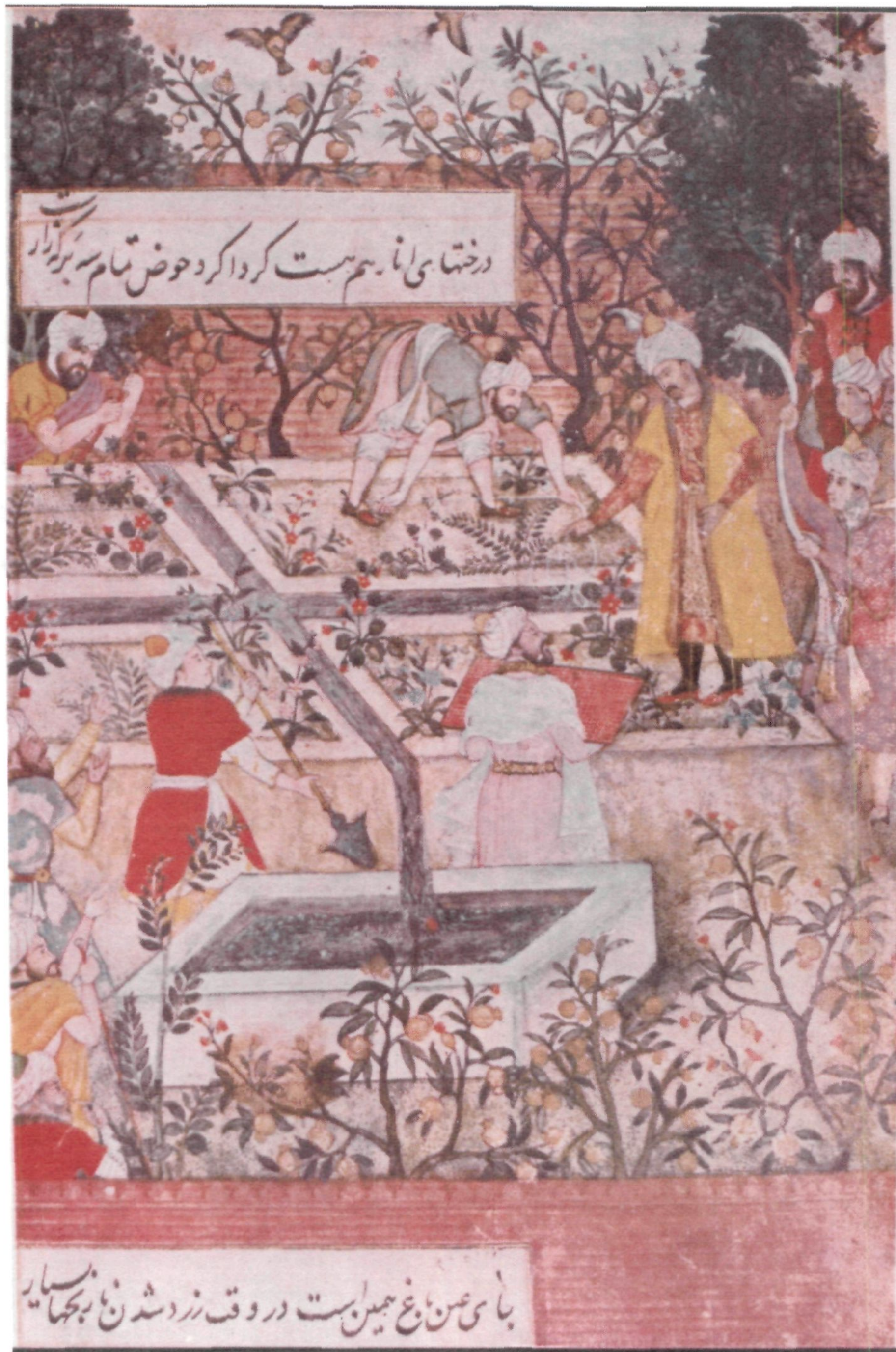
34. Nurses, detail from "Rejoicing at the Birth of a Prince", Kesu Kalan & Ramdas
Akbarnama, AN, IS-2/1896, acc.no.78/117
Cf. Geeti Sen, *Paintings from the Akbarnama*, Pl. 56



35. Nurses detail from"Rejoicing at the Birth of a Prince",
Akbarnama, AN, Brit.Lib. Or. 12988, *f.*20 b
Cf. Geeti Sen, *Paintings from the Akbarnama*, Pl. 57



36. Nurses, Detail from "Birth of Prince Murad",
Akbarnama, AN, IS-2-1896, acc.no.80/117
Cf. Brand & Lowry, *Akbar's India*, fig. 2



37. “Babur supervising laying of garden”, Bishandas & Nanha
Baburnama, V&A Museum, London,
Cf. B.Gray, *The Arts of India,* New York, 1981, fig.142



38. An Architect, (detail from the preceding plate)

39. "Building operations at Agra Fort",
Akbarnama, AN, IS-2/1896-117
Cf. Geeti Sen, *Paintings from the Akbarnama*, Pl. 30



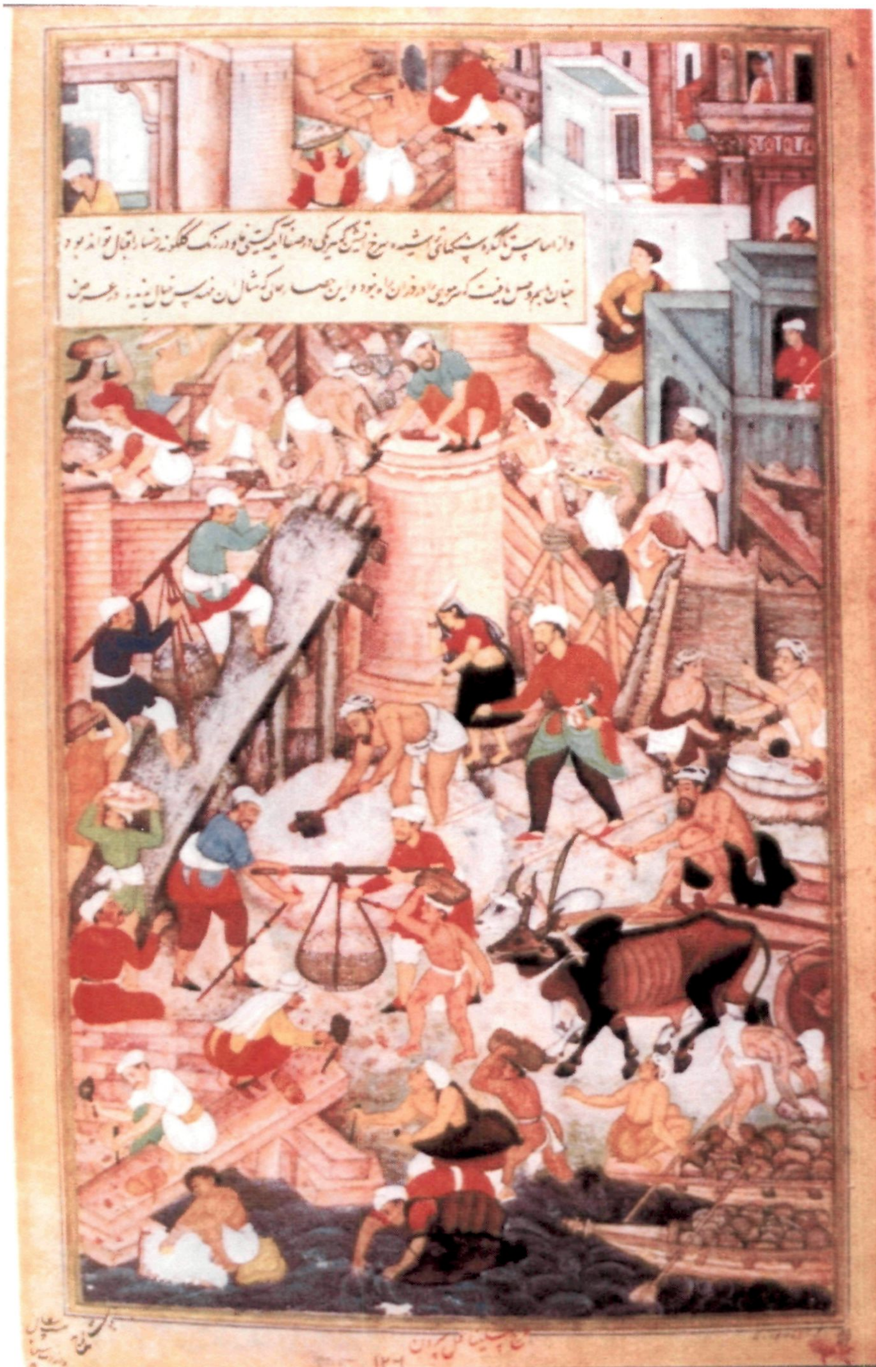
40. Architectural Supervisor, detail from preceding plate 39



41. Master Masons, details from plate 39



42. Stone-masons & Stone cutters, details from pl.39



43. "Construction of Agra Fort",
Akbarnama, AN, IS-2/1896, acc.no.45/117
Cf. Geeti Sen, *Paintings from the Akbarnama*



44. Stone-masons, "Khoja Seyaran Spring", Mahesh
Baburnama, BM. Or.3714
cf. *Miniatures of Baburnama*, Samarqand, Pl.14



45. "Akbar Supervises constructions at Fathpur Sikri", Madho Khurd
Akbarnama, AN, IS-2/1896, acc.no.91/117
Cf. Geeti Sen, *Paintings from the Akbarnama*, Pl.61



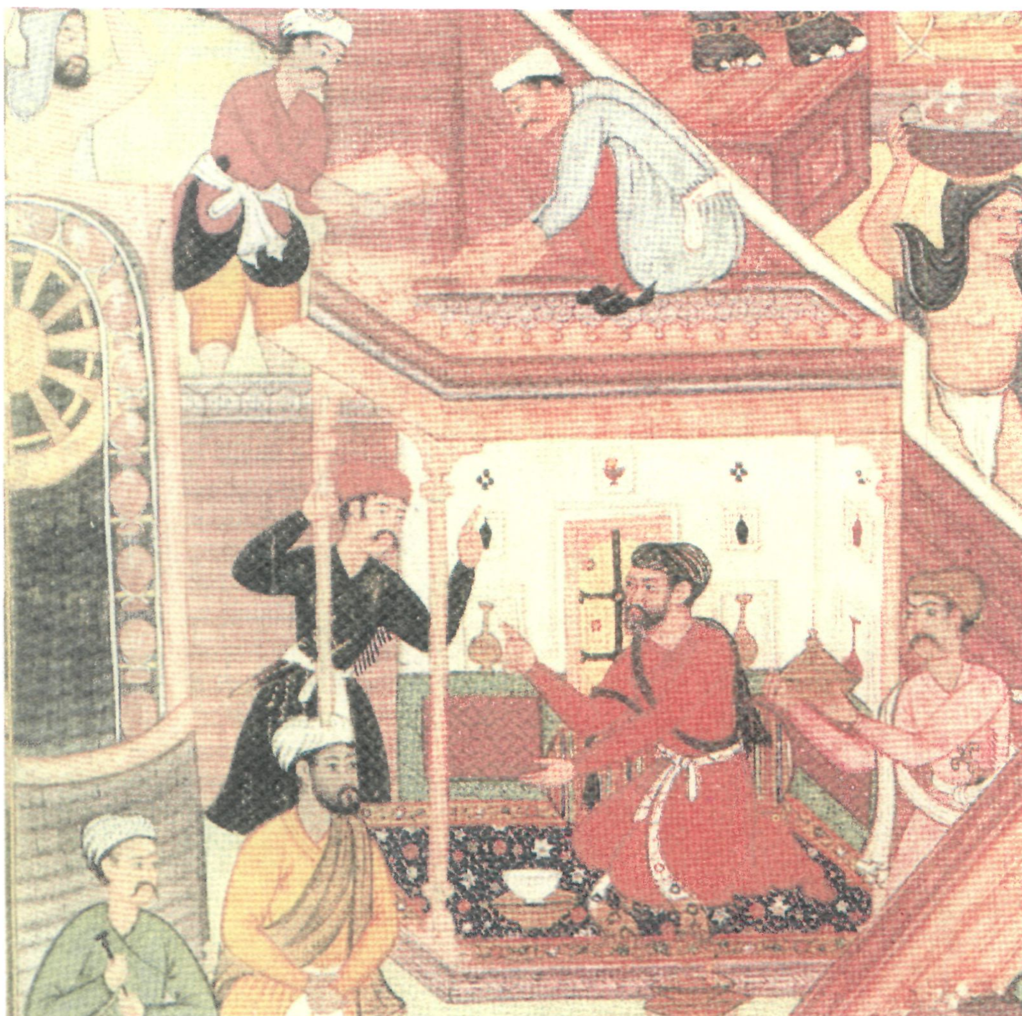
46. Master masons, Supervisors, labourers & Akbar,
Details from preceding plate 45



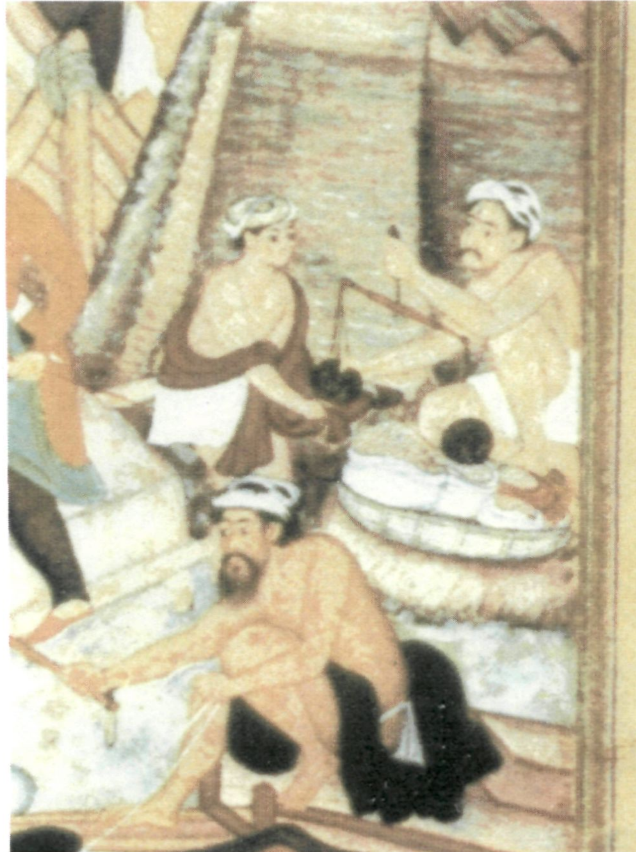
47. Master-mason & labourer,
Detail from plate 45



48. "Construction of Hathipol", Tulsi & Bhavani
Akbarnama, AN, IS-2-1896, acc.no.80/117
Cf. Brand & Lowry, *Akbar's India*, Pl.15



49. The *Mīr-i Āb* or Superintendant of Water-Works
Detail from the preceding plate 48



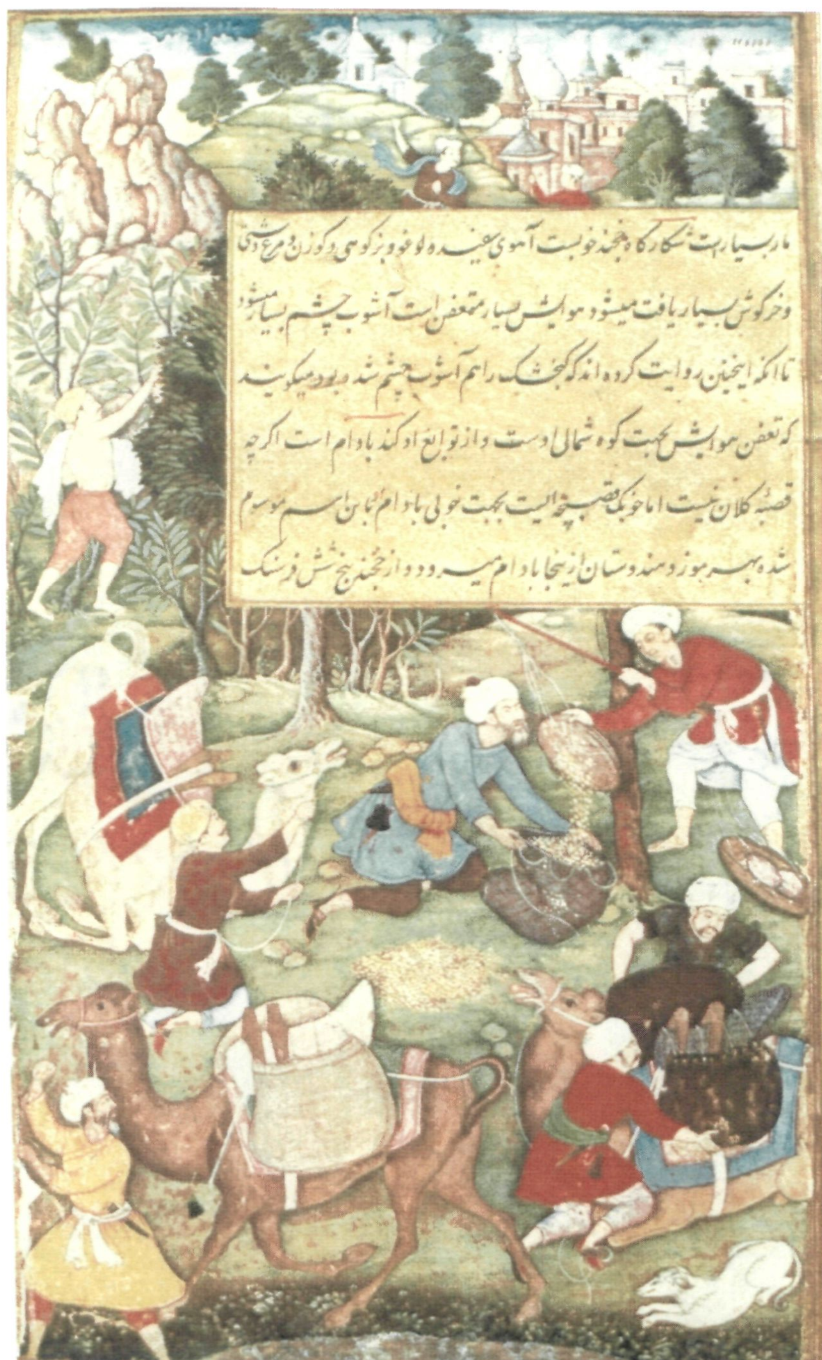
50. A Peddling Hawker
Detail from plate no.43



51. "Jewellers buying food", Meodas
BM, Oriental Antiquities, no.1920-9-17-0255
Pinder-Wilson (ed.), *Paintings from the Muslim Courts of India,* London,1976, pl.133



52. "Almond Sellers", Bhurah
cf. *Miniatures of Baburnama*, Samarqand, Pl. 3



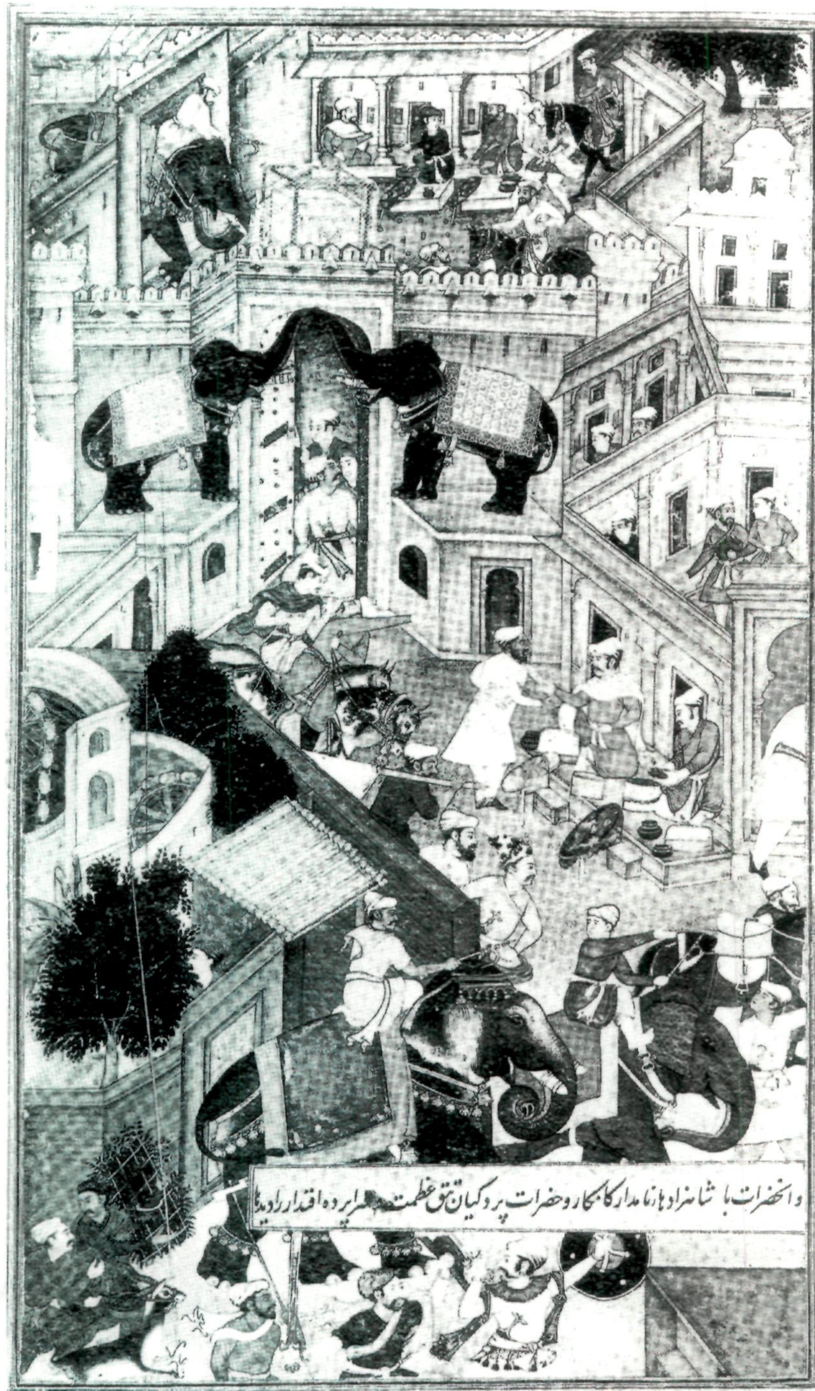
53. "A Market Scene", Surdas
Baburnama, NM, no.50.326, pl.1, *f.* 42
Cf. Randhawa, *Paintings of the Baburnama*, Pl.I



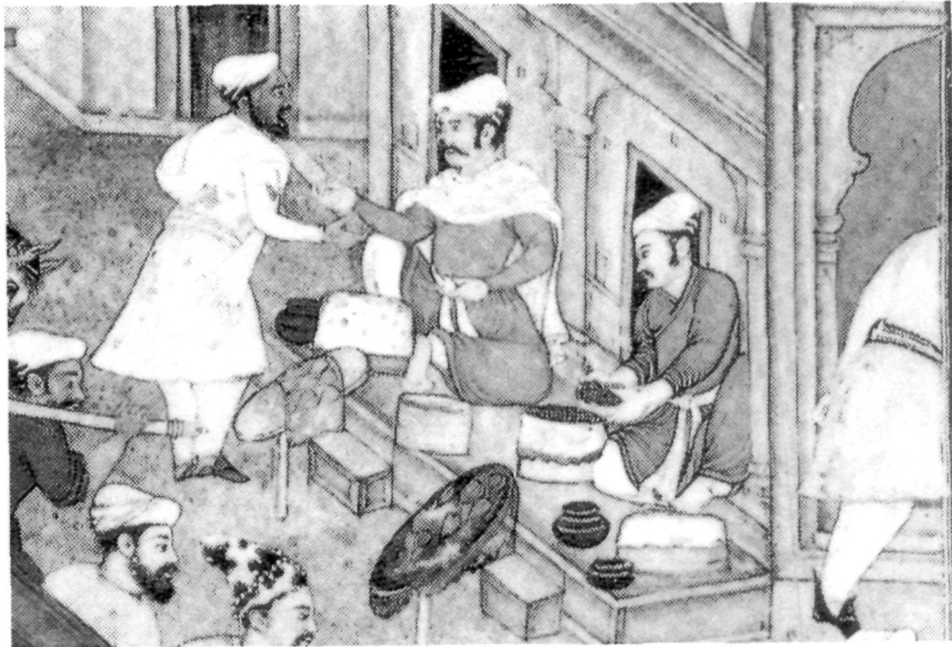
54. Grain Seller in a Camp Market (detail), c. 1600
Baburnama, no.50326 National Museum, New Delhi
Cf. SP Verma, *India at Work*, fig.7



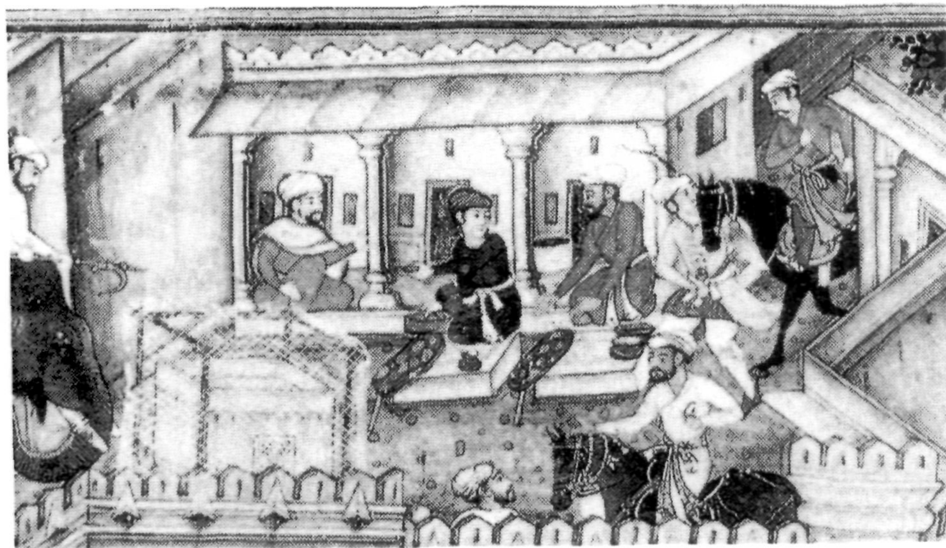
55. Fruit-seller, Margin detail, c.1620
Jahangir's Album, no.1949.151, John J.Emery Colln., Cincinnati Art Museum, Cincinnati, Cf. SP Verma, *India at Work*, fig. 11



56. "Akbar's return to Fatrhpur Sikri", c.1590
Akbarnama, V&A Museum, I.S. I-1896 110/117
Cf. Brand & Lowry, *Fathpur Sikri*, pl.1.1



57. Shopkeepers (*pan-sellers*) in the market beneath Hathipol
Details from plate 56



58. Shopkeepers in the market behind Hathipol
Details from plate 56



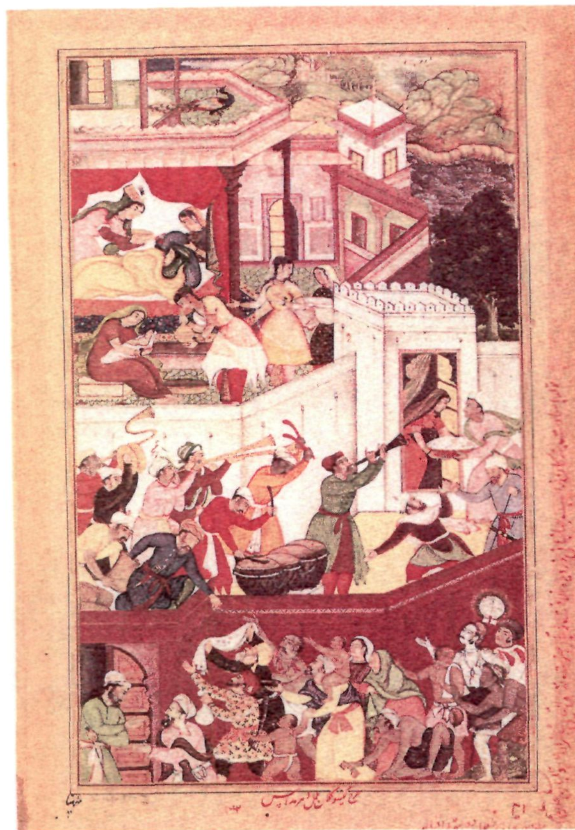
59. Shops in Delhi Bazar (detail)
"Attempt to Assassinate Akbar", Jagan & Bhawani Kalan
Akbarnama, AN, IS-2/1896, acc.no.133/117
Cf. Geeti Sen, *Paintings from the Akbarnama*, Pl. 27



60. "Bazar Scene", the Bread sellers, c. 1604
Kulliyat-i Sa'di, Ms.35, *f.* 19 b, Prince Agha Khan Colln
Zeenat Ziad, *Magnificent Mughals,* fig.22, p.161



61. Bazar Scene in Mandi, 17^{th} Cent.
Howard Hodgkin Colln., Cf. Zeenat Ziad, *Magnificent Mughals,* fig.6, p.244



62. "Birth of a Prince", The Musicians
Akbarnama, AN, IS-2/1896, acc.no.78/117
Cf. Geeti Sen, *Paintings from the Akbarnama*, Pl. 56



63. Court Musicians, "Birth of Taimur", c.1604, Surdas Gujarati
Akbarnama, Brit.Lib., London, Or.12988, f. 34 b
Cf. Losty, *Indian Book Painting*



64. "Royal Musicians", c. 1590
Akbarnama, V&A Museum, I.S. I-1896 110/117
Cf. Zeenat Ziad, *Magnificent Mughals,* fig.2, p.234



65. Naqqarkhana Musicians, c. 1650
Art Institute of Chicago, 1975.555
Cf. SC Welch, *India: Art and Culture*, New York, 1999



66, "Khurram arrives from Deccan", c.1640
Naqqarkhana Musicians, *Padshahnama*, Royal Library, Windsor Castle
Cf. Beach & Kosh, *King of the World*



67. A Marriage Procession (detail)
Bazar Scene in Mandi, 17th Cent.
Howard Hodgkin Colln., Cf. Zeenat Ziad, *Magnificent Mughals,* fig.6, p.244



68. "Rustic Concert", c. 1620-25
Minto Album, Ms.7, no.11, Chester Beaty Library, Dublin
Cf. Welch, SC, *Imperial Mughal Painting,* Pl.28



69. Singer & Musician, Bichitr
Minto Album, V&A, IM 27-1925, London
Cf. Susan Stronge, *Painting for the Mughal Emperor*



70. "Sultan Sikandar Zulqarnain being shown the Method of making mirrors", (detail)
c. 1590



71. Acrobats, c.1750
Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris
Cf. SP Verma, *India at Work*, back cover

72. Mulla & Other theologians in a Mosque, c. 1595
Tarikh-i Alfi, National Museum, New Delhi
Rumer Godden, *Gulbadan: A Portrait of a Rose Princess*, p.133

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